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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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11 April 1986

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

AZAP COMMENTS ON ENTEBBE SUMMIT, UGANDA SITUATION

AB211050 Kinshasa AZAP in French 0832 GMT 21 Mar 86

[Commentary: "For Peace in Uganda"]

[Text] Kinshasa, 21 Mar (AZAP) -- Seven heads of state of Central and East Africa met on Thursday in Entebbe, on the bank of Lake Victoria, for consultations on ways to consolidate peace in Uganda and ensure the security of the people in the region. By participating in the Entebbe meeting, Uganda's neighbors have solemnly expressed their concern to see peace restored and the hideous spectre of war vanish definitely from the country.

Through this expression of solidarity with the Ugandan people, battered by years of fratricidal wars as exhausting as they are unnecessary, the leaders of Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, and Zaire intend to give their unanimous support to President Yoweri Museveni, who has taken as a primary task the pacification and reconstruction of his country.

The founding chairman of the MPR, advocate of peace and unity in Zaire, is participating in the Entebbe meeting. He will bring to the Ugandan people lessons drawn from the history of his country, where peace and understanding have been reigning since 24 November 1965. The civil war and sufferings endured by the Ugandan people have some similarities with those known by the Zairian people between 1960 and 1965, a period during which hatred and confusion seemed to dominate the life of the nation. The courage and determination with which the guide Mobutu Sese Seko took the helm to save the ship from sinking and restore hope to the Zairian people will inspire the new Ugandan leaders in their effort to restore national unity.

The militants of the MPR, who know the evils of disunity and its disastrous consequences, feel much compassion toward the brotherly people of Uganda and are concerned about the prevailing situation there, because, as the wise African saying goes, "When your neighbor's hut is on fire, yours is also threatened."

This justifies the active participation on Marshal Mobutu in the Entebbe summit which will enable them to review the goals reached since the Goma meeting at the end of January, as well as to seek better ways of reviving cooperation between states in the region.

The Entebbe summit thus serves as an inestimable framework for reflection and consultation aimed at setting off mechanisms likely to bring lasting peace in Uganda and to establish on a solid basis the security of the people in the region, an indispensable factor in the promotion of economic and social development.

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ANGOLA

REPORTAGE ON ENERGY PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION

Luanda SADCC ENERGY III in English No 10 85 pp 40-42

[Article by Luis Felipe and Helder Cruz, (National Electric Company, ENE, of Angola)]

[Text] The National Electricity Utility, ENE, is the legal and economic instrument created in 1980 by the Angolan Government in order to establish and operate production, transmission and distribution activities on a monopoly basis all throughout the People's Republic of Angola.

At present ENE is in charge of operating only the Center and South systems mentioned above, in addition to several small energy production and transmission facilities, whereas the North system, which accounts for approximately 70% of the total electric energy produced in the country, is still temporarily operated by another company founded by the Portuguese in 1956 called SONEFE.

In addition to the two aforementioned companies, we must also consider small production facilities with an installed capacity of less than 1000 kW, managed by local administrative authorities, as well as small private systems producing and distributing electrical energy for self-consumption.

Large and small-scale distribution of electric energy to urban areas does not come under ENE's monopoly, though ENE can cover these activities considering them on a case by case basis and bearing in mind the size and extension of the distribution grids.

Thus the followings situations can exist with respect to these activities:

— Distribution to the city of Luanda handled by EDEL, the City of Luanda Distribution Company;

— Distribution to the cities of Benguela and Lobito handled by CELB, Lobito and Benguela Distribution Company;

— Distribution to the cities of Cabinda, Uige, Huambo, Lubango, Kuito and of Namibe, in addition to other small centers handled by ENE;

— Distribution activities handled by local administrative authorities, normally associated with small isolated production facilities.

To summarize, and bearing in mind the characteristics of the country, the trend may be considered as one of centralization in organization energy production and transmission which converges in ENE, and one of decentralization in distribution.

As already mentioned above, there are three main systems of energy production and transmission designated as North, Center and South.

The North system, supplied by two hydropower stations, Cambambe, with an installed capacity of 4×65 mW (limited to 4×45 MW, and Mabubas with 17 MW installed capacity, is backed up by a 25 MW gas-turbine type thermal power station. A 220 KV, 100 KV and 60 KV transmission grid extends from these plants.

The Center system is supplied by the Lomaum (35 MW) and Biopio (14.4 MW) hydropower stations, and by one 22 MW and one 10 MW gas turbine. A 150 kV transmission grid extends from these plants.

The South system is supplied by the Matata hydroelectric station (27.2 MW) and

by the Namibe back-up diesel-fired thermal power station (11.2 MW). A 150 KV and 60 KV grid runs from these plants.

Other smaller-size productions systems can be mentioned, such as the one in the Cabinda Province with a 10 MW gas turbine and a 30 KV grid, the one in the Bié Province with a 30 KV grid between the small hydropower station in Cunje and the city of Kuito, and the private Diamang system (Angola Diamond Company) in the northeast of the country with a 60 kV grid between the small hydroelectric station in Luachimo and the thermal power station in Lukapa.

Total installed capacity in the country is estimated to amount to about 540 MW, 340 MW of which come from hydro power sources.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTRIC ENERGY

Tables I and II below present statistics on electric energy production by the main hydropower and thermal power stations, as well as forecasts for 1984 and 1985.

Table III gives information on electric energy distribution broken down by pro-

vince. These are the provinces in Angola supplied by the three main production systems and the largest thermal stations.

A brief analysis of the tables allows the following conclusions to be drawn:

— It was only in 1983 that production exceeded the 1973 level, i. e. production before the People's Republic of Angola won its independence. It is estimated that the 1973 distribution level will be topped in 1984. The situation stems from the fact that, due to the exodus of the Portuguese in 1974/75, many of the country's economic structures stopped functioning, thus causing great economic hardship.

— Between 1983 (684.5 GWh) and 1984 (718.4 GWh), an increase of around 5% has been estimated; between 1984 (718.4 GWh) and 1985 (784.5 GWh), a growth rate of 9%, which is based on an optimistic view of the country's economic development.

— Approximately 68% of the energy consumed is accounted for by the Luanda/Bengo region, where the greatest concentration of industrial concern is also located.

TABLE I PRODUCTION OF ENERGY (GWH)				
HYDRO-ELECTRICAL PLANTS	1973	1983	1984	1985 (Provisional)
CAMBAMBE	502.6	574.3	586.9	622.1
MABUBAS	27.7	4.1	4.1	4.7
LOMAUM	120.8	2.4	—	—
BIOPIO	43.1	34.5	19.4	53.3
MATALA	42.0	48.1	47.9	50.4
LUQUIXE	—	5.3	3.9	3.9
CUNJE	3.4	5.3	5.3	5.3
TOTAL	739.6	674.0	667.8	739.7

TABLE II PRODUCTION OF ENERGY (GWH)				
THERMAL PLANTS	1973	1983	1984 (Esti- mated)	1985 (Pro- visional)
CABINDA	10.6	14.2	16.9	18.5
UIGE	—	0.9	3.3	3.3
LUANDA	—	0.1	0.1	0.1
BIOPIO	—	60.0	80.6	85.2
HUAMBO	—	11.0	4.0	4.0
NAMIBE	—	—	—	—
				4.0
BIÉ	—	0.9	1.2	1.2
TOTAL	10.6	87.1	106.1	116.3

TABLE III DISTRIBUTION OF ENERGY (GWH)				
PROVINCE	1973	1983	1984 (Esti- mated)	1985 (pro- visional)
LUANDA AND BEN- GO	486.2	475.9	486.7	515.9
KUANZA NORTE	6.9	17.9	18.4	19.5
KUANZA SUL	0.3	11.6	11.9	12.6
MALANJE	9.1	11.5	11.8	12.4
CABINDA	8.1	14.2	16.9	18.5
UIGE	—	6.2	7.1	7.1
BENGUELA	121.6	73.3	82.4	98.1
HUAMBO	34.8	30.3	23.8	39.9
BIÉ	3.2	6.6	6.5	6.5
HUÍLA	39.7	22.7	36.2	37.3
NAMIBE	—	14.3	16.7	16.7
TOTAL	709.9	684.5	718.4	784.5

PROJECTS AND FUTURE PLANS

At the present stage, one of the sector's major concerns is rehabilitation and conservation of existing facilities. Thus several projects have emerged, designed to rehabilitate the older electricity production facilities, repairing and renewing their equipment, adapting the facilities to present requirements and or new technology. This is the case of the Malongo thermal power station (Cabinda), and the Mabusas, Biopio and Matala hydroelectric stations.

Immediate priority has been set on completing construction of several facilities interrupted in the course of the events which led Angola to independence. Equipment already exists, at least in part, for these facilities which have been designated as vital to the country's socio-economic development. This is the status of some small local or regional hydroelectric schemes.

Lastly, there is a programme to develop the three main electricity production and transmission systems. It includes building dams to regulate flow on the Kwanza and Catumbela Rivers, and installing new po-

wer stations near these dams — the purpose being to meet future demand in the North and Central regions of Angola.

Projects to upgrade the installed capacity of existing power stations are being developed in the Centre and South systems.

Of fundamental importance is the project under study which examines interconnection of the three main systems (North-Center-South). It will result in Angola having a single integrated national grid.

MANPOWER SITUATION

After the Portuguese left Angola during the process that led to independence, it became evident — and it was only natural — that the country was left with a crucial shortage of management and qualified personnel in every sector of the Nation's life, and the electric energy sector was no exception.

The lack of management and qualified personnel can be felt in every area and at all levels, though much more acutely for middle management personnel, i. e. those who must liaise efficiently with senior management and technicians on one hand, and with unskilled workers on the other. We might add that this latter group's level cannot be considered satisfactory either.

This situation has not yet been overcome, despite the measures implemented in the field of training both at home and abroad.

The total number of employees in the four main companies (ENE, SONEFE, EDEL and CELB) amounts to almost 3,500, broken down as follows:

Production and Transmission ... 1293
Distribution 2804
Administration 403

In terms of numbers, this situation is satisfactory compared with the installed capacity and the amount of energy produced and distributed. Studies carried out in the field of professional training and their recommendations led to the results presented in Table IV.

It can be concluded from the table that we will have to make great efforts to upgrade our employees' level of skills in order to reach what is considered to be a well-balanced breakdown, one we intend to achieve by 1993.

ELECTRIC ENERGY TARIFFS

Electric energy tariffs in effect today in the People's Republic of Angola still maintain all the features of the Portuguese colonial policy. They are therefore incompatible with correct application of the economic principles of a socialist-oriented policy. As a result, the profitability of electricity production and distribution endeavours is greatly curtailed.

Tariff rate determination as it is still in effect in our country was already applied to the two basic systems of energy production, i. e. an extremely low rate for hydro-power electricity, and another considerably higher rate for thermal power electricity.

However, given that operating both of these systems was controlled by the State, through its managing body, the then "Angola Electrification Board" (Junta de Electrificação de Angola), an autonomous State organization, and the ex-municipal authorities (Câmaras Municipais), and local boards (Juntas Locais), and in addition four concessionary companies for

TABLE IV

	1984	1983	1993
Produced Energy (GWH)	800	1000	1400
Global Productivity men/GWH	4.4	4.13	3.7
Total	3500	4,30	5100
<i>Staff</i>			
Staff	76 %		63 %
Medium level technicians	20 %		30 %
Cadres	4 %		7 %

production, transmission, large and small-scale electricity distribution, all of the aforementioned benefited from tax and duty exemptions. The value of these exemptions, and moreover the exclusion of depreciation on fixed assets in calculating operating costs in order to determine tariff rates, significantly distorted the real basis

for setting tariffs right from the start. This meant that tariffs did not generate the expected profitability for electricity production and distribution facilities.

In both of the tariff rates based on hydro or thermal production systems, value differentials were used for energy consumption which led to different rates for household consumption, general lighting (offices, shops, hospitals, civil service premises, etc.), heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, public water works and lighting.

As an example of how outdated the present tariff structure is, it will suffice to say that in aggregate figures, the average sales price is 1.27 Kw. per KWh for hydrogenerated electricity, and 3.87 Kw. per KWh for thermal, whereas operating costs are much higher per KWh. As a result the deficit of electricity utilities is constantly on the increase.

Well aware of the effects brought about by this system, the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum has ordered a "Tariff Study" to be performed at the national level. The study is being carried by the BEP, Belgian Engineering Promotion, and is financed by an ADB grant. Based on this study, our Party and Government will be able to define and apply the future pricing policy on electricity consumption.

FINANCING

The national Electric Energy Sector is made up of a National Company, ENE, two State Distribution Companies, EDEL and CELB, and a partly state-owned, partly private company, SONEFE.

As for SONEFE, the major producer and distributor of electric energy, its legal situation as both state-owned and private will change in 1985, making it a state company, since the foreign share in the company was acquired by the People's Republic of Angola. The State Utility's funds stem from two main sources:

- its own receipts

- Intervention by the General State Budget (Orçamento Geral do Estado — OGE)

Our forecasts for 1985 predict a gross income of 1.2 billion Kwanzas, 95% of this amount from the payment of electricity consumption bills, and 5% from service activities.

On the other hand, total expenditures will amount to 1.9 billion Kwanzas, the deficit being covered by the General State Budget (OGE) as provided for under the item "Planned Losses" ("Prejuizos Planificados").

Thus, receipts cover only 64% of the expenditures of electricity production and distribution facilities, a consequence of the low rates that are practiced.

In expenditures two main items can be identified:

- consumption of raw materials, ancillary materials and subsidiary materials 49%
- wages and other emoluments 42%

The State Utility also benefits from financial coverage for investments, also guaranteed by the General State Budget (OGE). ■

BOTSWANA

COUNTRY'S PETROLEUM PROSPECTS VIEWED

Luanda SADCC ENERGY III in English No 10, 85 pp 25-29

[Article by the Geological Survey Department of the Government of Botswana]

[Text] **The petroleum prospects of Botswana have been a matter of continuing interest for several decades. For example, in 1961 a reconnaissance study which reported that "the prospects of finding commercial oil are regarded as fair to good, and those of gas poor to fair". The study focussed on the Karoo Supergroup (Figure 1) in central and southwestern Botswana and it was concluded that the Dwyka and Eccra rocks of the Karoo contained suitable source rocks, reservoir rocks and cap rocks for the accumulation of petroleum.**

A study conducted by Shell Coal Botswana (Pty) in 1977 indicated that there were good source rocks for gas and some source rocks for oil in the Karoo succession in Botswana (Figure 2). Potential reservoirs and cap rocks were also recognised, as was the possible existence of complex stratigraphic and structural traps. The report concluded that for the potential source rocks to attain a degree of maturity sufficient to generate oil, the total thickness of the Karoo succession would have to be at least 2,500 metres. Such thicknesses were thought to be possible in the Kalahari and Okavango areas.

The petroleum prospects of Botswana have also been reviewed in various publications by the Geological Survey Department. The 1965 summary report on the Mineral Resources of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana) pointed to the petroleum potential of the Karoo Supergroup in the central and south-western parts of the country. This report indicated

that the Dwyka contained probable marine formations which could serve as suitable source rocks for oil. In addition it was speculated that the Karoo of south western Botswana might be under taken by the Pre-Ordovician Nama Group in which oil seepages and asphalt veins have been reported from outcrop in neighbouring Namibia.

Attempts to assess the petroleum potential of Botswana to the present time have all been severely limited by the cover of Cretaceous to Recent Kalahari sands which effectively blankets the underlying bedrock geology to an average depth of approximately 100 metres. This blanket covers some 80% of the country, including Kalahari, and renders impossible all direct surface geological observation of the potentially hydrocarbon-bearing rocks. To date there have been no deep drilling or regionally significant seismic surveys conducted in the potentially hydrocarbon bearing sedimentary basins of Botswana.

In essence, therefore, all assessments of the sedimentary basins are dependent on information gathered elsewhere, often in areas of significantly different geological setting and history. Moreover, this information must often be projected over very considerable distances, a practice which is fraught with difficulties in a geologically complex area. In addition, information points, such as water and coal boreholes, have been located for reasons other than petroleum assessment. Therefore the petroleum-related evidence provided by these information points is often distorted by local features, for example igneous intrusions. Therefore, while there exists both positive negative evidence regarding

the petroleum potential of the Botswana sedimentary basins, this evidence is all indirect and the area remains unexplored and essentially unknown.

As a first step towards further understanding the sub-Kalahari geology of the country, the Geological Survey Department developed an exploration strategy. In accordance with this strategy a regional gravity survey, funded by the United Kingdom, was completed in 1973 over the western part of the country and between 1975 and 1976, an aeromagnetic survey was carried out over most of the country. The latter survey was financed by a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the final interpretation of the work was published in 1978.

With direct relevance to the petroleum prospects of Botswana, the aeromagnetic survey identified three basins containing up to 15 kilometres of non-magnetic sedimentary fill beneath the Kalahari sands. Termed the Ncojane, Nossop and Passarge basins, they are some 85,000 square kilometres in area. The survey provided few clues as to the age and nature of the sedimentary infill of the basins.

As follow-up to the aeromagnetic survey, CIDA also sponsored a shallow drilling programme to test certain features which were recognised on magnetics. In this programme some 17 vertical holes were drilled at 13 widely spaced locations in the Kalahari region. Continuous cores were taken in the holes, many of which penetrated to the pre-Karoo rocks. In total, some 6537 metres were drilled with the deepest hole being 916 metres in the central Kalahari. A report on this drilling programme and its implications on the economic geology of the region is in final preparation.

In review, therefore, large basins containing considerable thickness of non-magnetic sedimentary fill have been identified in the Kalahari. The nature of this fill is unknown from direct evidence but in part must consist of Karoo rocks with source, reservoir and capping potential. Underlying the Karoo sequence, the presence of unmetamorphosed Precambrian and Lower Palaeozoic potentially petroliferous sequences might be speculated upon.

THE BASEMENT ROCKS

Botswana occupies a central position within the southern part of the African continental plate. Figure 3 (from Key and Rundle, 1981) illustrates the main tectonic

elements of southern Africa and their relationship to Botswana.

Along the eastern boundary of Botswana is the Archaean terrain of the Rhodesian and Kaapvaal cratons and the intervening Limpopo mobile belt, all dating from pre-3500 Ma. Except for minor localized deformations and melting, this cratonic area appears to have formed an essentially rigid block for at least 3000 Ma with only relatively minor jostling motions occurring between the Rhodesian and Kaapvaal cratons (Nisbet, et al, 1981).

The termination of the craton to the northwest and west occurs in central Botswana where it is obscured by overlying sediments. Reeves (1978), however, has determined by aeromagnetic methods that the craton is terminated to the northwest by a near vertical fault, trending northeast-southwest with downthrow of some 2000 metres to the northwest. This fault is termed the Makgadikgadi Line (Figure 4 after Reeves, 1978 and Key and Rundle, 1981).

The western margin of the craton has been established aeromagnetically and is a northerly extension of the Kheis Belt of South Africa which has been related (Key and Rundle, 1981) to the outcropping Okwa basement rocks of west-central Botswana (Figure 4). Tectonic activity in this belt is dated as having commenced around 2000 Ma.

The western margin of the Kheis Belt is defined by a major north-south dislocation termed the Kalahari Line which downthrows to the west in excess of 2000 metres (Figure 4).

Within the eastern cratonic area, the Zoetfontein Fault separates the Kaapvaal and Rhodesian cratons and is truncated to the west by the Kalahari Line. The Zoetfontein Fault downthrows some 400 metres to the north (Figure 4.) In Namibia, to the west of Botswana, two younger Precambrian tectonic belts are recognized, termed the Rehoboth and Damaran Belts (Figure 3).

The older of the two, the Rehoboth Belt, can be traced in a northeasterly direction into Botswana where it forms the Ghanzi-Chobe Belt which in turn links with the Irumilde Belt of Zambia. Folding and faulting along this belt is consistently along a northeast-southwest strike and age dates from intrusives and extrusives in the belt indicate that deposition commenced around 1200 Ma and deposition, intrusion and tectonism were complete by about 900 Ma (de Villiers and Simpson, 1974).

In Botswana (Figure 4) rocks of the Ghanzi-Chobe Belt consist of the Kgwebe

Porphyry Formation (date at approximately 950 Ma) and the Chanzi formation — a folded but weakly metamorphosed molasse-type succession of sandstones, argillites and limestones.

The southern boundary of the Chanzi-Chobe Belt is a steep standing dislocation-zone of normal faulting which is, as yet, unnamed. Throws are to the southeast, towards the aeromagnetically defined sedimentary basins, and are in the order of up to 10 kilometres. Towards the south of the belt in Botswana, it begins to plunge at up to 20° towards the southwest.

The northwestern boundary of the Chanzi-Chobe Belt appears to be a line of northwest facing "thin-skin" thrusts over a shallow older Precambrian basement. The intensity of the thrusting dies out rapidly towards the southeast as one moves across the belt.

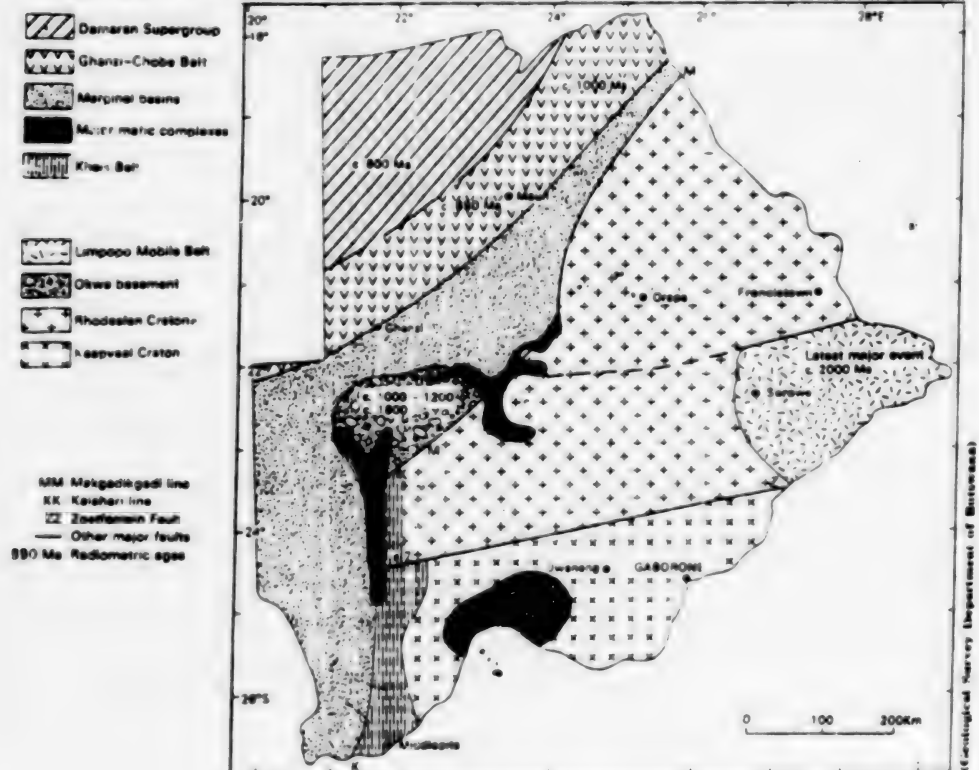
The younger of the two Precambrian belts, the Damaran, in Namibia, consists of a north-south trending coastal belt, and an inland northeast-southwest trending belt paralleling the earlier Rehoboth — Ghanzi — Chobe Belt to the southeast (Figure 3). The inland belt of the Damara

orogen has been extended northeastward into Botswana on the basis of isolated outcrops and aeromagnetic evidence to cover the whole of the northwestern part of the country. Further to the north, the belt is equated with the Karanga and West Congo belts. To the south, in the Republic of South Africa, the Namaqua-Natal Belt is tentatively correlated with the Damaran Belt (Figure 3).

The Damaran Belt consists of folded geosynclinal sedimentary successions which start with arenaceous and calcareous rocks and terminate with great thicknesses of greywacke. Volcanic rocks are poorly developed. In Botswana there is a suggestion that the Damaran Belt is shallowing, and pre-Damara basement crops out, unconformably overlain by virtually unmetamorphosed dolomites and quartzites (Reeves, 1978).

Radiometric age determinations suggest that Damaran sedimentation commenced 700-800 Ma ago. Late tectonic intrusions are about 620 Ma old and are succeeded by post-tectonic events of 525-450 Ma (de Villiers and Simpson, 1974). The Damaran sedimentary-tectonic cycle thus dates from

Figure 4 The Precambrian geological provinces of Botswana, mostly after Reeves (1978a)



Late Precambrian to early Palaeozoic and is part of the "Pan African Event" (Kroner, 1980).

THE BASINS

The deep sedimentary basins, which were identified by aeromagnetics, are contained within a fault hounded graben (Figure 4.)

The nature and age of the graben is a matter of some speculation. The presence of an extensive Karoo rift trough system is known (Whiteman, 1982). This system

has, for example, been identified in the onshore areas of Mozambique, Madagascar, Tanzania, Kenya and Somalia. Sedimentary fill is several thousands of metres thick and the troughs are thought to be part of an extensive "failed rift" system which developed in Late Palaeozoic and Early Mesozoic times. McConnell (1968) and others have suggested that the Karoo rift troughs are localized over fracture systems that may have originated much earlier in Proterozoic times. It appears possible that the graben came into being as a result of "Pan African" continental col-

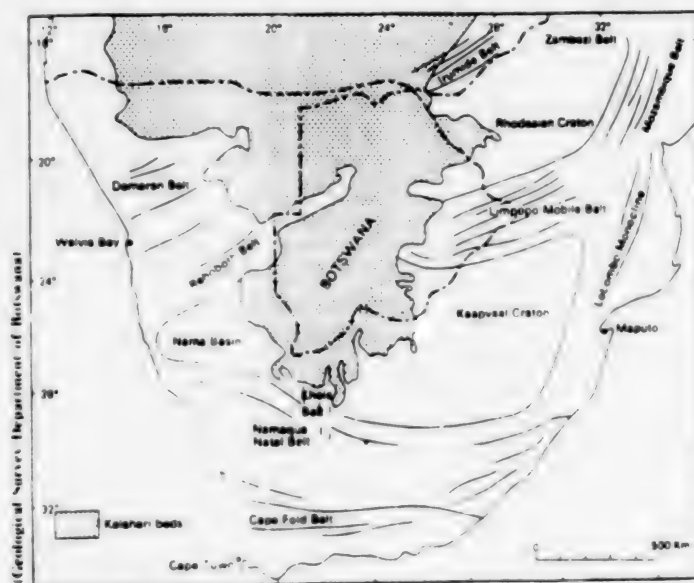


Figure 3 Regional tectonic setting of Southern Africa (after: Key and Rundle 1981)
Map of Botswana

lision during the Damaran orogeny or that it is an aulacogen (Burke, 1977) related to the Damaran cycle.

Goechemical evidence from the Karoo outside of the main basinal area suggests that some 2,500 to 3,000 metres of section is missing. Borehole drilling to date shows that the total remaining section is in the order of 1,000 metres. Sedimentation rates of several thousand metres in the Karoo period of approximately 100 million years would classify the graben as a Rapidly Subsiding Basin in the nomenclature of Bois et al. (1982).

Therefore, rather than being a simple epeirogenic sag, the graben appears to have resulted from one or more episodes of active tectonic movement starting in the

Late Precambrian and being reactivated during the Karoo. The longevity of this feature plus the probable sedimentation regimes within the graben, make it a potentially favourable location for the production of petroleum (Burke, 1977; Bois et al., 1982).

BASIN FILL

Aeromagnetic evidence suggests that the central graben is deepening towards the southwest and that, within Botswana, it is segmented into two and possibly three basins where the depths to magnetic basement are in the order of 15 kilometres. Over the rest of Botswana, including the Okavango delta, magnetic basement lies at

Figure 2 Generalized Stratigraphic Column of the Karoo Supergroup in Botswana				
Age	Stratigraphic unit		Lithology	
Late Carboniferous to Early Jurassic	KAROO SUPERGROUP	Stormberg	Drakensberg	Purple, grey or black massive to amygdaloidal basalt 400 m thick
			Cave Sandstone	Orange, red or white aeolian sandstone. 150 m thick
			Red Beds	Mottled red and green mudstone, marl and calcareous sandstone. 70 m thick
			Molteno	Feldspathic sandstone and grit. 15 m thick
		Beaufort		Grey or pale reddish and green non-carbonaceous mudstone. 135 m thick
		Ecca	Upper Ecca	Dark grey to black carbonaceous shale with coal. 140 m thick
			Middle Ecca	Feldspathic, crossbedded, porous sandstone with coal. 165 m thick
			Lower Ecca	Shale, grey, silty, sandy, micaceous with some sandstone near base. 95 m thick
		Dwyka	Upper Dwyka	Grey to black mudstone and shale, local coal. Thin limestones, siltstones and sandstones, green mudstones. Varved. 145 m thick
			Lower Dwyka	Tillite with intercalations of varved mudstone. Outwash deposits and conglomerates. 140 m thick. Resting on erosional surface

(Mainly after Green, 1966)

depths of less than 1000 metres. Potential petroleum prospects are considered to be limited to the confines of the deep aeromagnetic basins.

As mentioned earlier, however, all of the evidence on the possible sedimentary fill of the basins comes from outside of the basins and has to be projected over extremely long distances. Moreover, since the basins are fault-controlled graben structures which, at least in part, were active during sedimentation, there is the strong possibility that the sediments in the basins are significantly different from those outside of the basins.

With due recognition of the above caveat, the following are brief descriptions of the sequences which may be found in the sedimentary basins of Botswana:

THE KAROO SUPERGROUP

The characteristics of the Late Carboniferous to Early Jurassic Karoo Supergroup are synopsised on the accompanying generalised stratigraphic column (Figure 2). Figure 1 shows the extent of the Karoo in Botswana. Green (1966) described

the regional stratigraphy of the Karoo in Botswana (then Bechuanaland) and found that, for the most part, the standard lithostratigraphy developed in South Africa could be applied to Botswana.

Information gathered since Green's publication, especially as a result of extensive coal and water-well drilling, has enabled further informal stratigraphic refinements to be made (Clarke-Lowes and Yeats, 1977). A new formalized lithostratigraphy of the Karoo of Botswana is in preparation by Geological Survey (Smith, R.A., in prep.), however for this report the traditional more general nomenclature is used.

A maximum aggregate thickness for the Karoo of some 1500 metres is given by Green (1966) with the basaltic lavas of the Stormberg Lava Group comprising the upper 400 metres or so of the gross thickness. Most of the information on the Karoo is derived from coal exploration studies that have been largely concentrated in the eastern and southern sub-outcrop areas. Over much of central and southwest Botswana the thickness and nature of the Karoo sequence is unknown.

The Karoo sequence was deposited on an erosional surface of significant relief and commences with a continental tillite deposit followed by a transgressional classic sequence of sandstones, shales and calcareous shales of marine origin. In Lower Ecca and Beaufort times silts, clays and thin coals were deposited in fluvial, lacustrine and swamp environments. Unconformably overlying the Beaufort sediments is the continental Stormberg sequence consisting of red beds, coarse to medium grained sandstones, shales, massive aeolian sandstones and a cap of basaltic lavas.

Sparse but consistent depositional evidence suggests a general eastern source for the Karoo sediments with marine influences being better developed to the west and southwest (Martin, 1953). This is in keeping with the regional palaeoslope of Pretorius (1978) which sees the Rhodesian craton as a dominant positive element in the region.

Maturation studies conducted by Clark-Lowes and Yeats (1977) showed that the average degree of organic metamorphism (DOM) of the Karoo sediments, now at shallow depths around the margin of the Karoo basin, is approximately DOM 60. This implies that these sediments were once covered by an overburden of some 2000 to 3000 metres which has been subsequently removed by erosion. The erosion took place in pre-Stormberg times and it is not known if the entire Karoo depositional basin was eroded or if erosion was confined to the basin margins.

While there are deep boreholes in the central parts of the basins, some evidence is obtained from the Vreda-1 borehole and the Shell W-3 borehole (Fig. 1). Located on the west side of the Ncojane basin, these holes are situated over approximately 10 kilometres of nonmagnetic material according to the aeromagnetic interpretation maps. Vreda-1, however, penetrated only 750 metres of Karoo, while a Karoo sequence of 650 + 50 metres is interpreted at the Shell W-3 borehole.

This evidence clearly shows that a thin Karoo cover exists in the area of the boreholes and that indications of thick non-magnetic fill on the aeromagnetic interpretation maps does not necessarily mean the presence of a thick Karoo section. However, projecting the Ghanzi fold belt to the southwest along its dominant trend, in conjunction with evidence from mapped northeast-southwest trending Karoo surface faults, suggests that the Vreda and Shell boreholes may be located on the southwest basin margin and not in the basin itself.

The question of the thickness of the Karoo in a basinal position must still, therefore, be considered as open.

Geochemical analysis by Shell (Clark-Lowes and Yeats 1977) in the Dwyka and Ecca rocks indicate poor to good source rock properties for both oil and gas generation with a general bias towards gas. The degree of organic metamorphism of the samples place some of them in the oil zone and others in the gas generation zone. Essentially, similar results were arrived at by Standard Vacuum, Texaco and Esso.

Surface seeps are not known in Botswana, perhaps due to the extensive surface cover of Kalahari deposits. A small amount of oil was collected from a waterwell (No. 2069) at Moswaa on the northeast sub-outcrop of the Karoo northeast. Analysis of this oil indicated it is a biodegraded light oil originating from a mature sapropelic source rock. In the Republic of South Africa, Whiteman (1982) reports over 350 known occurrences of minor hydrocarbon shows from the Karoo Supergroup and minor seeps have been reported in Zimbabwe from Karoo rocks.

Potential sandstone reservoirs are present in the Dwyka, Ecca and Stormberg successions with the most attractive members being in the Lower and Middle Ecca. Sandstones in the Ecca can be up to 240 metres thick. In the Republic of South Africa porosities of 15% and permeabilities of 1 Darcy are known from some middle Ecca sandstones but elsewhere reservoir conditions are less promising (Whiteman, *op. cit.*) Dwyka and Ecca sandstones are prolific fresh water aquifers in Namibia along the basin margin subcrop area. They have the capacity to be reservoir rocks at least in local areas. The extent of fresh water flushing in the basinal areas is not known.

The Dwyka and Ecca sandstones are capped by intercalated clays and coal in the upper Ecca and by the thick Beaufort (up to 240 m) silts and clays.

The overlying Cave Sandstone contains a good sandstone reservoir of considerable thickness (more than 150 m) capped by a great thickness of impermeable basaltic lavas. It is considered, however, that hydrocarbon generation in the Dwyka and Ecca would probably have taken place prior to the deposition of the Cave Sandstone reservoirs.

The Karoo sequence has been intruded by late-Karoo and post-Karoo dolerite and basalt sills and dykes. While these are considered detrimental features to the hydrocarbon potential of the Karoo section, lar-

ge parts of the basinal areas unaffected by this igneous activity which has been well pinpointed by the aeromagnetic survey of 1975-1977. The presence of igneous intrusions and the thick basaltic cap of the Stormberg lavas will constrain the gathering and interpretation of seismic data in certain areas of the basins.

THE PRE-KAROO SEDIMENTS

Thickness of the Karoo from marginal areas is known to be approximately 1500 metres. In addition geochemical evidence indicates that approximately 2,500 metres of section is missing through erosion. It is possible that the entire section of 4,000 metres is preserved in the basinal areas and possibly more due to depositional thickening of the section in a basinward direction. Since the basins contain up to 15,000 metres of non-magnetic fill, however, this may consist of more than 10,000 metres of pre-Karoo non-magnetic material. The possible contribution of the pre-Karoo to the petroleum potential of the basin is therefore significant.

The possible nature of the pre-Karoo infill of the sedimentary basins was commented upon by Reeves (1978) who suggested that thick redeposited Ghanzi formation sediments overlain by Nama could occur in the Passage basin and the northern part of the Ncojane-Nosop basin. He further suggested that Nama and Proterozoic sediments could underlie the Karoo in the Nosop basin. The boreholes at Vreda and north of the Passage basin confirm the presence of Nama and redeposited Ghanzi formation sediments respectively at these points. The Nama in the Vreda hole contains an unmetamorphosed and low dipping (2°) sandstone of the Fish River Formation. Strong salt-water flows were encountered in this formation suggesting that it is a potential oil reservoir.

Nama rocks are not known in Botswana but outcrop extensively in Namibia (Martin, 1965). Here, they are shelf-type sediments which are essentially unfolded except for some gravity type structures in certain areas. The age of the Nama is from Late Proterozoic to Late Cambrian based on palaeontological and igneous-body age dating.

The age of the redeposited Ghanzi sediments which are found in boreholes in the graben north of the Passage basin is not known. It is possible that they are a local facies of the Nama and are therefore of similar age.

The inter-relationship in time between the Nama sequence and the Damara sequence to the north is uncertain since the

rocks have never been found in direct contact. It is thought that the two sequences are in part contemporaneous. Kroner (1980), for example, correlates the Mulden Group of the Damaran Belt with the Nama. Recently, however, Momper (1982) suggested that the Mulden Group in the Etosha basin might be as young as Upper Carboniferous and therefore younger than the Nama. In addition, Momper presented evidence to support the contention that suitable conditions exist in the Mulden and Nama Groups of the Etosha basin for the generation and trapping of economic deposits of hydrocarbons.

The presence of post-Nama/pre-Karoo sediments within the sedimentary basins of Botswana may be speculated upon in view of the long time period involved and the apparent tendency of the graben to be reactivated from time to time. Marine sediments of Ordovician to Devonian age (the Likupekupe formation) occur in Zambia while, in the Republic of South Africa, the Ordovician to Lower Carboniferous Cape Supergroup attains a cumulative thickness of 10,000 metres in the Cape Belt.

CONCLUSIONS

The 1975-1977 aeromagnetic survey of Botswana has pointed to the presence of an extensive fault-bounded basinal area filled with up to 15 kilometres of nonmagnetic sedimentary fill. There is very little direct evidence available pertaining to this basinal area in which no regional seismic survey or deep drilling has been undertaken.

The basinal area or graben appears to have been tectonically active over a long period, possibly commencing in the Late Proterozoic and being reactivated during Karoo times. The mechanism of the formation of the graben may be speculated upon with the possibility that it started as a back-arc trough in the Precambrian which later acted as a failed rift during Karoo times. Both such depositional environments are conducive to the production of petroleum.

Geochemical analyses of Karoo sediments which, in part, fill the individual basins within the graben, indicate that suitable source rocks for the production of oil and gas exist with a bias towards gas. Sampling in the presumed more marine facies of the basins may show a bias in those areas towards oil producing kerogenous source rocks. Maturity studies from the basin margins indicate a range from submature with the majority of samples in the oil and gas maturity ranges. Many, if not all, overmature samples may be explained

by proximity to local intrusive "hot spots". The Karoo section also contains strata which are potential reservoir and cap rocks.

The thickness of the Karoo within the fault-bounded graben is not established. It is entirely possible that a sufficiently thick Karoo section is present within the graben to have generated and trapped hydrocarbons. Evidence for a thin Karoo section from the Vreda well in Namibia is equivocal since the well is probably on the up-thrown side of a major normal fault separating it from the basin to the east.

Evidence from other Karoo basins in southern Africa indicates that the sedimentary fill can be several thousands of metres thick. Except for the Great Karoo Basin of the Republic of South Africa, these Karoo basins have not been extensively explored. In South Africa the lack of success in the Karoo can be explained by the tectonism suffered by these sediments during the Cape Orogenic Episode (Triassic). The Karoo rocks of Botswana are essentially flat-lying and unmetamorphosed.

Underlying the Karoo is an unknown section of nonmagnetic sediments which may, in part, be the Nama Group known from Namibia. This Group of several thousand metres in thickness consists of a dominantly marine platformal sequence of clastics and carbonates some of which contain stromatolites and overlain by continental clastics. The age of the Nama sequence is placed at between Late Precambrian to Late Cambrian. The Nama is generally unfolded and has not been regionally metamorphosed. Momper (1982) has recently indicated that parts of the Nama-equivalent in the Etosha basin of northern Namibia contain rocks of suitable source, reservoir and capping characteristics for

the production and trapping of hydrocarbons. In addition he presents palaeontological evidence which would tend to place a lot of the Nama sequence in the Lower Palaeozoic rather than the Late Proterozoic.

While the petroleum productivity of rock sequences generally declines with geological age, production from Late Precambrian and Early Palaeozoic rocks is significant in several regions of the world. Hunt (1979) in discussing the petroleum potential of Precambrian rocks points out the explosive increase in plant and animal life forms between 600 and 1000 Ma and considers that this period marks the beginning of oil-forming sediments on the scale observed in the Phanerozoic. He also states that several billion barrels of oil and equivalent amounts of gas have been produced from Cambrian reservoirs in the United States of America, Siberia and North Africa.

Hunt (1979) concludes that "petroleum will continue to be found in the Precambrian both in unmetamorphosed, relatively undisturbed sequences and in sediments are where there is fluid communication with younger source beds. The fact that much of these sediments is untested suggests that large accumulations remain to be found."

The Government of the Republic of Botswana, through its Geological Survey Department and with the assistance of international aid agencies has, for the past ten years, conducted a systematic exploration programmes aimed at assessing the mineral potential of the Kalahari. It is hoped that the next phase of this exploration will be conducted by the private sector and with this in mind the Government has put in place modern petroleum legislation to be the basis of industry-government longterm agreements. ■

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CSO: 3400/1369

ETHIOPIA

ELP LEADER FAVORS POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR ERITREA

Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 19 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by Muhammad Ibrahim]

[Text] Jeddah, Feb 18--Painting a gloomy picture of the Eritrean problem due to the Ethiopian intransigence, an Eritrean leader has, however, reiterated that despite 25 years of armed struggle, the Eritreans are still in favor of a political solution.

Taha Muhamad Nur, member of the executive committee of the Eritrean Liberation Front (unified organization) and in-charge of information, in an interview with Arab News said, "we have much in common with Ethiopia and are fully aware of Ethiopian's problems arising from its position of being land-locked but we can reach some understanding on this point," he said, adding that "the prosperity of Ethiopia is also our prosperity.

He said a political solution can be achieved if Ethiopia recognizes the Eritrean problem as a political issue and holds direct negotiations with a unified Eritrean delegation without preconditions and in the presence of a third party representing either the Arab League, the OAU or the United Nations.

Nur said Somalia is at present undertaking efforts to reach a political solution but so far no breakthrough has been made.

The Jeddah unity agreement of 1982 was realized by Eritrean Liberation Front (Popular Liberation Forces), Eritrean Liberation Front (Revolutionary Council) and Eritrean Liberation Front (Revolutionary Committee).

After merging themselves into a single organization, the three factions formed a national assembly of 81 members--27 from each faction. The assembly (parliament) in its first session in Khartoum in January 1985 elected a 15-member executive committee under the chairmanship of Osman Saleh Sabi which represents the political leadership of the unified organization. Delegates from Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Palestine and other Arab states attended that session.

The assembly held its second session last July and is scheduled to hold its third one this month.

Nur said the unity of the three factions, inspired by Saudi Arabia and Sudan, has enabled the friendly countries to channel their material and political support through a single organization and at the same time enabled the Eritreans themselves to collectively continue their military, diplomatic and political efforts to resolve the Eritrean question.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea is the only faction that has not so far joined the unity agreement.

Nur urged the tripartite committee composed of Senegal, Guinea and the secretariat general of the Organization of Islamic Conference to undertake its mission assigned to it by the third Islamic summit conference in Makkah-Taif in 1981 to hold contacts with Ethiopia and the Eritreans in order to reach a peace formula.

According to him, fighting is continuing between the Eritreans and the invading Ethiopian Army and added that the Popular Liberation Front now has more than 7,000 Ethiopian soldiers as prisoners of war.

Nur said as a result of the war about 170,000 Eritreans have been killed, 500,000 displaced inside Eritrea itself and 600,000 were forced to leave their country and live as refugees in various parts of the world.

He said the basic infrastructure of Eritrea has been destroyed with the annihilation of schools, hospitals, factories and villages.

The Eritrean leader urged the OIC and the Arab League to give Eritrea an observer status which will enable it to have the same position in the United Nations and hence take the issue to the international organization. He also called upon all friendly countries to channel their relief aid to the famine victims in Eritrea through the Eritrean organizations.

He particularly urged Prince Talal, president of the Arab Gulf Program for the United Nations Development Organizations (AGFUND) to visit the Eritrean refugee schools in eastern Sudan to personally assess the miserable conditions of the 15,000 students there.

Nur expressed his gratitude to Saudi Arabia under the leadership of King Fahd for its consistent support to the Eritrean cause.

"The Saudi government had exerted tireless efforts to realize unity among three Eritrean factions and has been hosting a large number of Eritreans who left their home due to Ethiopian atrocities," he said.

Nur said the Eritreans living in the Kingdom are enjoying the generous hospitality of both the government and the people and are receiving free medical treatment.

He said under recent directives, the children of Eritrean expatriates in the Kingdom are being enrolled in public schools.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1366

ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

EEC GRANTS EMERGENCY AID--The European Economic Community decided on January 23 to grant a further six million ECUs (5.28 million dollars) to Ethiopia in emergency aid. According to EEC figures Ethiopia will need food aid of 900,000 tonnes, being the difference between total estimated requirements of 7.3 million tonnes and the 1985 harvest of 6.3 million, 29 percent up on the 1984 crop. However, on January 24 Ethiopia's deputy relief and rehabilitation commissioner Taya Gurmu said that Addis Ababa had revised its estimates upwards to 1.5 million tonnes. He said the number of people who would require aid this year was now estimated at 6.45 million, instead of the previous 5.8 million. [Text]
[Paris INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 1 Feb 86 p 6] /9317

CSO: 3400/1366

KENYA

MOI ADDRESSES OPENING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 5 Mar 86 pp 4, 5

[Text]

Mr Speaker, I wish to start my address by welcoming all Honourable Members, to this year's session of our Fifth Parliament. I trust that all of us had a useful Christmas recess, and that we were able to exchange ideas with wananchi we represent in our respective constituencies. With the fresh ideas from our people, I therefore have confidence that we shall transact the business for which we were elected into this august House with our people's aspirations at heart.

Honourable Members will, I am sure, be glad to know that the economy is getting back to track after the serious drawbacks of the worldwide economic recession and the prolonged drought.

The rate of domestic inflation has been reduced to below 10 per cent. The performance of our export trade has continued to improve over the years. As a result of this favourable economic climate, the balance of payments has been positive in both 1983 and 1984. On the whole, economic growth in 1985 is provisionally estimated to have been in the order of 4.2 per cent.

It is therefore clear that we have achieved some commendable progress in our efforts to restructure the economy during the last five years. There is, however, much that remains to be done. One important area which we will need to watch carefully is the recent trend of a declining rate in capital formation. We have to take further appropriate measures to revitalise investments in both the

private and public sectors. In addition to continuing with the strict measures to control Government recurrent expenditure, we shall need to increase the productivity of our resources.

Towards this end, the Government will continue to rationalise and improve the present pattern of allocation of budgetary resources. We shall seek to concentrate our limited resources on fewer but more carefully selected projects which have a higher efficiency and a greater potential for growth. Emphasis will be placed on improving the utilisation of existing capacity.

While we continue with our efforts to strengthen the formal sector, we must give priority to those industries which produce more efficiently. There is need for us to gradually reduce the protection we have in the past given to some industries which have little hope of becoming self-sustaining.

With regard to the informal sector, my Government is determined to provide the necessary support in order to further strengthen and improve the sector. The Government recognises that the informal sector plays a major role in supplementing the formal sectors' efforts of providing employment opportunities for the rapidly growing labour force. Such facilities as infrastructure, credit and legal protection will be provided to minimise the constraints which have in the past adversely affected the development of the sector.

Mr Speaker, I wish at this point to make a few remarks on our agricultural sector which per-

formed very well last year. We received both long and short rains in good time and in sufficient amounts in 1985. Consequently, there was record yields in most crops including maize, wheat and beans as well as the important cash crops of coffee and tea. This positive trend is expected to continue this year.

Current estimates indicate that maize output will be a record high of twenty-nine million bags this season. Wheat is expected to yield about two hundred and thirty thousand tons, while both coffee and tea are forecast to achieve record production. Kenyans have reason to be thankful for these blessings. We must, however, appreciate that just as much as we have problems in a bad year, there are also some problems associated with such a dramatic increase in agricultural produce.

One example is the strain which has been placed on the limited resources we have to pay farmers for their produce. The National Cereals and Produce Board has been experiencing some difficulties in meeting its obligations towards farmers. My Government is fully aware of the adverse effects of delayed payments, and has already instituted remedial measures which will increase the funds available to the board for payment to farmers.

Another equally constraining factor is inadequate storage facilities, which we have continued to expand both at the national and farm level. There is, however, much to be done in this area. In the short term my Government has decided to

permit the sale of grain by farmers direct to millers.

I take this opportunity to assure this House that my Government is determined to maintain and increase the rate of agricultural expansion in this country. Farmers will continue to be given attractive prices for their produce. Access to credit facilities will be improved. Those charged with the responsibility of supplying farmers with the essential inputs such as fertilisers and improved seeds will be required to perform their duties more effectively. We shall continue with our efforts to involve farmers in making decisions concerning their own development by making extension services more effective and involving farmers more actively in the work of district development committees. I trust that with this team spirit between the Government and the people, we shall achieve the overall national objective of making our country self-sufficient in food.

At this point, I wish to turn more specifically to the agenda which will form much of the business on this session. Honourable Members will recall that, in my message to the nation during Jamhuri Day celebrations last year, I referred to preparations which were in their final stages towards formulating economic policies which will guide our nation's progress for the remaining years of this century. I am glad to inform the House that the final touches have been made by the relevant ministries. This House will therefore be requested in the very near future to debate Sessional Paper Number One of 1986 on economic management for renewed growth.

This House will also be requested to further evaluate the efforts we have made since independence to improve the welfare of a large and vital section of our population. I am referring here to our youth who presently constitute more than sixty per cent of the entire population. The youth development programme we have implemented largely through youth polytechnics will continue to emphasise agriculture and technical skills which will enable our youth to be self-employed in the rural areas.

Honourable Members will, during this session, be able to contribute their ideas in this important area. My Government will present a sessional paper which aims at reorganising and improving the youth development programme in order to

increase the productive capacity of our youth in national development.

Honourable Members will recall that during my address to the House in March last year I referred to several Bills to be discussed during that session. I have no doubt that all of us do appreciate the details that various Government ministries have to consider before presenting draft Bills for deliberation in this House. The details concerning the Marriage Bill, the Hides and Skins and Leather Bill and the State Corporations Bill which were to be debated during the last session have now been finalised, and will be presented before the House during this session.

Mr Speaker, in the course of the development of any country, it becomes necessary to amend various sections of the law that govern the conduct of that society in order to incorporate the changing needs of the people. My Government will, therefore, be proposing various amendments to existing legislation during this session of Parliament.

Several recommendations were made by the 1985 Report on the Civil Service Salaries Review Committee, which were presented to this House in Sessional Paper Number Three of 1985. In an effort to implement the recommendations of that committee which concern the creation of new posts in the judiciary, and the need to re-define the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the magistrates, the Government will propose amendments to the Magistrates Act. Under this Bill, Honourable Members will also be asked to re-examine the role and status of panels of elders in the light of the useful work they are performing in solving disputes in their areas.

I have often talked at length on the need for fair play in our legal system. This House is aware of several instances when wananchi have been subjected to unnecessary suffering as a result of the indiscipline of a few advocates and some court brokers. This House will, I am sure, be glad to know that my Government has drafted some amendments to both the Advocates Act and the Court Brokers Act to remove the loopholes which have in the past been exploited to the detriment of wananchi.

While still on the subject of improving the dispensation of justice, Honourable Members will agree with me that, as a

result of our people being more aware of their rights, there has been a large increase in civil suits. The present strength of judges cannot cope with the increase of both civil and criminal cases. The Government will propose some amendments to the Commissioners of Assize Act which will provide for the appointment of senior advocates to deal with the many cases which are pending in our courts.

Mr Speaker, this House will be asked to debate proposed amendments to the Land Control Act which empower the minister responsible to declare land in municipalities, townships and urban centres to be agricultural land. The proposed amendments will enable the minister to control transactions on agricultural land when municipalities, townships and urban centres are created or when their boundaries extend to cover agricultural land. Amendments will also be proposed concerning the Land Acquisition Act to enable individual owners to remove their plant and machinery when their land is acquired compulsorily before it is taken over by the Government.

Mr Speaker, my Government is committed to the conservation of natural resources including water, soil, vegetation and wildlife. We shall continue to guide the development, management, utilisation and regulation of forest resources in order to provide for the needs of present and future generations. In addition to establishing new tree species suitable for all areas, Honourable Members will be expected to provide the lead in our efforts to plant and protect trees from destruction.

Matters concerning drought and desertification must continue to occupy a high priority in our planning.

This is because the survival of all living things depends on the state of our soil. It is as a result of this realisation that my Government has always been at the forefront in co-operating with other countries in our region to combat drought and desertification. As Honourable Members will recall, Kenya participated actively in the setting up of the inter-governmental Authority on Drought and Desertification. This culminated in my travelling to Djibouti, in January this year, to sign the agreement establishing the regional body.

Kenya also participated in the international conference on "trees and the forest" held in Paris, France last month. I assure

this House that my Government will continue to co-operate with the international community in finding solutions to the problems of environmental degradation which affects the entire humanity.

Mr Speaker, before I leave this whole area of intended amendments to various acts within our legal system, I would like to touch on two other legislations which we intend to update and amend. Honourable Members will no doubt agree with me that Kenya has come a long way from the position which obtained at independence regarding the provision of social security for our workers.

It will be recalled that during the colonial era, the only protective measures operating for wage earners was in respect of employment injury in the form of workers' compensation. We have since introduced the National Social Security Fund, as a compulsory savings scheme for wage earners. The objective here is to protect both workers and their families against social distress which could arise from sickness, invalidity, old age or death of the bread-winner in a family.

The National Social Security Fund Act of 1967 was revised 15 years ago. However, its contributors and coverage still remain limited to certain categories of wage earners. The Government has plans to extend the scope of coverage of this scheme to all economically active persons in the country.

As a first step towards the attainment of the long-term objectives of the scheme, Parliament will be asked to debate amendments to the act which will seek to establish the National Social Security Fund Board of Trustees as a corporate body to manage the fund. The proposed amendments will also make it possible for public servants and other workers to draw their benefits without delay upon their retirement.

Another important section of our law which we have had to amend from time to time is the Traffic Act, Chapter 403. Many able-bodied Kenyans and even innocent children have lost their lives unnecessarily as a result of motor accidents. My Government is determined to curb these deaths on our roads. I have no doubt that Honourable Members

will be at the forefront in making practical suggestions to improve road safety when we debate the Traffic Amendment Bill 1986 which has already been published. And let me emphasise here that while the Government will do everything possible within its powers to reduce the carnage on our roads, it is ultimately the duty of everyone: Leaders; Law enforcement officers; and all road users, to abide by the rules and regulations that we shall pass in this House.

All of us must therefore play our part to achieve what is desirable for our society: to reduce motor accidents which none of us want.

Mr Speaker, I have been discussing for some time, a list of amendments we intend to introduce to various Acts, the list is not exhaustive. There are several new Bills in various stages of preparation which my Government will propose for debate in the House during this session. This will therefore be a busy session for us all.

While our main concern must invariably be to deliberate on these important matters of concern to our own society, we must also bear in mind that Kenya is an inseparable part of the wider international community. As such, we cannot afford to be oblivious to what takes place elsewhere, particularly in those countries with whom we share common borders.

We all accept, I am sure, that as a pre-requisite for orderly and systematic economic development, this region and indeed the entire continent of Africa has no option but to foster an atmosphere of peace and stability. This is the reason why my Government has spared no efforts in the search for peace in our region. I am pleased to note that during the summit meeting in Djibouti early this year, the Heads of State of Somalia and Ethiopia had an opportunity to discuss areas of misunderstanding, and were able to open a dialogue between them. Kenya wishes them well, and we look forward to the day when the two countries will work out a common strategy for lasting peace.

I am also pleased to inform the House that during my recent visit to Zaire I had very useful discussions with my colleagues from

Rwanda, Uganda and Zaire. Later this month, we shall hold another meeting in Kampala, Uganda, to review social, political and economic matters in our region.

Regarding the situation in Southern Africa, it is most disheartening that the Pretoria regime continues to flout resolutions of the international community with impunity. If all states demonstrate the necessary political will to support the resolutions of the United Nations, South Africa's reign of terror would end and Namibia would

soon be free. We believe today, as we have done always, that the presence of foreign troops in Angola has nothing to do with the independence of Namibia.

It is a question exclusively between the sovereign states of Angola and Cuba. The racist regime of Pretoria and their collaborators should know that we in Kenya are determined to assist our brothers in that country. We shall continue to support them in their just struggle for equality and human dignity, with all the resources at our disposal.

Mr Speaker, I wish to conclude my address today by reminding Honourable Members, that we are all privileged to sit in this House. And while it is very easy for us to engage in unproductive debates which may attract the attention of the media, we must not forget that the purpose of Parliament goes far beyond self-glorification or mere personal controversies.

I believe that all of us here today, have had the opportunity to understand the magnitude of our responsibility to our people. We all know what is expected of us. We are also fully aware that those who elected us to make decisions on their behalf are constantly judging our performance. We are duty bound to preserve the dignity and honour of this House by devoting our work here to the service of our people. This can only be done through hard work in understanding all issues we discuss and preparing our statements with the expectations of our people at the forefront in our minds.

I trust that this is the spirit which will guide our deliberations during this session and in future as we engage ourselves in the important task of mapping the future of our great nation.

Thank you.

KENYA

NON-AFRICANS SAID TO IGNORE KANU EVENTS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 27 Jan 86 p 12

[Text]

Communities of non-African origin living in Kenya were criticised yesterday by the Nairobi Kanu branch chairman, Dr Njoroge Mungai, for not taking the activities of the ruling party seriously.

Dr Mungai said that associations based on ethnic background, such as the Hindus, Sikhs and Arabs, particularly in Nairobi, rarely sent representatives to Kanu functions.

Such communities should realise, he said, they were all citizens and their rights were guaranteed by the Kanu Government and as such they should not ignore Kanu activities.

He told his officials to ensure in future that such communities were informed in good time about Kanu meetings so that they could make the necessary arrangements to attend.

At the same time, Dr Mungai warned elite women organisations that they all operated under the umbrella of Kanu.

Dr Mungai was addressing Kanu women's leaders from Nairobi at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre at a meeting convened to discuss the plight of the women in Nairobi.

At the end of the meeting, the women came up with resolutions

which would constitute a memorandum to be presented to President Moi at a scheduled visit of women from all over the country to State House.

Dr Mungai said tribalism should be forgotten completely when tackling Kanu matters. There was only one Asian woman at yesterday's meeting and Dr Mungai asked her to make sure that she brought more women from her community next time.

On discipline, he told his officials to ensure that the party's code of regulations and discipline was followed and those who went against it were disciplined.

He assured the sub-branch and the wards that the branch would not interfere unless the elected officials proved incapable of delivering the goods as expected of them.

Saying that women were the backbone of the party, Dr Mungai told them to deliberate on issues that are common to all. He recalled a similar meeting of the Nairobi youth groups who met last week and deliberated on matters affecting them as youth.

The meeting was also attended by the vice-chairman, Mr Zachariah Maina, and the organising secretary, Mr Richard Kimani.

11 April 1986

KENYA

MINISTER BLASTS COUNCIL FOR DEMOLISHING MOSQUE

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 21 Feb 86 p 3

[Text]

THE Minister for Local Government, Mr. Moses Mudavadi, has blasted the Meru County Council for taking unilateral decisions in the allocation of plots in Chuka township while the Director of Physical Planning has not submitted a physical plan of the town.

Mudavadi further lashed at the council for having demolished a mosque under construction in Chuka town estimated to cost 3.5 million shillings, funded by the Islamic Foundation and said the Chairman and Clerk to the Council could be sued for compensation.

The Minister was speaking in Chuka on Wednesday where he came to solve a long-standing dispute over a controversial plot for the Islamic Foundation to construct a mosque given by the Chuka Urban Council without the approval of the Meru County Council.

He instructed the Meru District Commissioner to allocate the six-acre plot to the Islamic Foundation for the construction of the mosque, a clinic and a nursery school as

soon as the township's physical plan was out.

Mudavadi criticised Meru County councillors for allegedly grabbing plots in the district.

He announced that he was going to send a team of inspectors from his ministry to investigate the illegal acquisition of plots in Meru District and asked the provincial administration and the local MPs to assist the inspectors.

Mudavadi wondered why the council had sent bulldozers to destroy a mosque under construction and said he was

further dismayed to learn that after knocking down the mosque, the council had sent an invoice of shs. 16,000 to the Muslims for payment for "the work done by the tractors and staff in destroying the mosque".

The Minister gave the Islamic Foundation the go-ahead to sue the Chairman and Clerk to the Council in their private capacities for compensation of the shs. 129,000, being losses incurred in the destruction of the mosque.

— KNA

/9317

CSO: 3400/1365

KENYA

BRIEFS

SMEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST ASIANS ALLEGED--A Minister of State, Mr Jackson Angaine, has cautioned some people in Meru town against "dividing" wananchi for their political and commercial benefits. Mr Angaine told a Kanu rally on Monday that there were some people in the town spreading rumours aimed at arousing hatred against the Asian community. Said the Minister: "Asians are here to stay and nobody should create division or hatred on racial lines." He advised leaders in Meru to involve the Asian community in development and stop "malicious campaigns" against them. He requested the leader of the Asian community in the district, Mr Omar Rahemtulla Yakob, to investigate an allegation that an Asian businessman in Meru was fond of insulting African women. "Our women must be respected and I cannot stand anybody insulting any of them anywhere," Mr Angaine said. Mr Yakob promised to investigate and report back to the Minister. [Excerpt] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 5 Mar 86 p 12] /9317

CSO: 3400/1365

NAMIBIA

NATION'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS EXPLORED ON RSA TELEVISION

MB041242 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Recorded documentary on economic problems in Namibia by Producer Alwyn Kloppers, introduced by Ruda Landman on the "Network" program, followed by live discussion with Dr Johan Jones, secretary of finance, Chris van Niekerk, chairman of the Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce, and reporter Kolie van Koller in Windhoek]

[Text] [Landman--live] Namibia's economic stagnation is causing concern among those who are interested in the welfare of this territory. The Afrikaans chamber of commerce of the area held a conference last week to discuss growth possibilities. Producer Alwyn Kloppers was there.

[Begin video recording] [Kloppers] The conference highlighted the worrying economic circumstances and prospects of South-West Africa. The message was not a pleasant one. It was said that the territory's economy had retrogressed over the past 8 years and has stagnated. Up until 1977, South-West Africa generally had a positive and frequently high growth rate, but since 1978 economic activities began declining and are showing a sustained negative growth rate. Delegates at the conference learned that the economic stagnation and high population growth of 31,000 persons a year, or 3.1 percent, has created a squeeze situation of too many people and too few job opportunities.

The industrial area on Windhoek is the showroom of the territory's economy. Although industrial development in Windhoek is not a true indication of what is happening elsewhere in the territory, it was said at the conference that economic growth had not only stagnated but that there was a true deterioration in the production of goods and services by the territory's mines, factories, and farms. At the conference issues such as what is the cause of the critical state of affairs, what is the solution, and what the future prospects were discussed.

Everyone, from industries to the man in the street, is adversely affected by the international economic recession which had led to the catastrophic collapse of nearly all export markets such as that of diamonds, Karakul pelts, and base metals such as copper. Even South Africa's weak and difficult economic conditions were not conducive to a climate of economic

stability, confidence, and growth. In Windhoek discussion of economic factors replaced the discussions of a political solution. The long drought has aggravated matters. Contributions by agriculture, which is a pillar of strength in the economy, to the gross domestic product has declined. From 1981 through 1984 the percentage contribution declined from 10 to 6 percent. The Tintinpalast is today a constitutional symbol and houses the interim government. Continuing uncertainty surrounding the territory's constitutional future is being given as an important factor which undermines investment confidence. Debate on this has increased gradually since the sixties and reached a climax in 1978 with a proposal which would have culminated in independence for the territory on 31 December of that year. Nothing came of this and the uncertainty of the constitutional future continues. But despite all the negative factors, the people of South-West Africa have not experienced hunger and hardship as is the case in many African states. One of the reasons for this is the close economic ties with South Africa and financial aid. Another reason is the retention of the traditional subsistence economy which offers a large section of rural population a means of livelihood despite what happens in Western economies.

This is regarded by government officials as a case where the territory's relative underdevelopment is a blessing in disguise. At the conference, Professor (Makjair) of the University of Durban-Westville painted a less rose-colored perspective on this matter. According to him, 115,000 people are unemployed. This represents 10 percent of the territory's population. He says that another 80,000 refugees outside the territory would have to be accommodated in the economy at some time or the other. But what does the future hold? Agricultural prospects are promising. This year was a good year for rain. If other decisive factors are also favorable for farmers, a positive growth rate in agriculture can be expected in the next few years. Even international economic activities are, according to the secretary of finance, Dr Johan Jones, becoming favorable for South-West Africans. He says the weak rand is advantageous to exporters and the tourist industry, but is disadvantageous to a high inflation rate. Dr Jones says if the value of the rand increases, a lower inflation rate can be expected with good export prices. But he is pessimistic that the high growth rate of the past could be repeated in the present uncertain constitutional conditions. What do business leaders and experts say? What about a solution to the complex problems? Nico Tromp is vice chairman of the Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce of South-West Africa.

[Tromp] I think it is especially important that we begin with the main factors, namely, stability, political stability, a type of government that offers economic prospects, I think it is also important we examine the existing government structures, our interim government structure, and that we motivate and stimulate our population so that each one can contribute.

[Kloppers] Despite the open society which is developing in South-West Africa, the feeling among black businessmen is that they should be accommodated to a greater extent in the economy. Mr Narieb is president of the Central Chamber of Commerce.

[Narieb] Black and colored people must also be recognized as far as development is concerned. They have a good future but at the moment it is difficult to say how I see the future.

[Kloppers] Mr Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation in South Africa said at the conference that the economic questions should get priority attention before a political solution can be expected. According to him a lot is lacking in the economic infrastructure.

[Louw] Here there are stumbling blocks of every possible nature, overcontrol, overexpenditure, a lack of really free property ownership rights for blacks, that is, the possibilities of beginning capital formation, the overregulation of such things as licensing and health measures, and if these stumbling blocks are eliminated there can be real development which could make the political solution possible. [end video]

[Landman] Kolie van Koller is all set to speak to Dr Johan Jones and Mr Chris van Niekerk in Windhoek. Kolie?

[Van Koller] Thank you, Ruda. Sirs, good evening and welcome to "Network." Dr Jones, it is said that for the past 8 years not a single new road had been constructed in South-West Africa, and that the budget is used almost entirely for the salaries of officials. Is that so?

[Jones] No, not at all. I believe salaries account for only about 40 percent of the budget. No, quite a number of new roads have been constructed, and much other work has also been carried out. Capital projects alone have taken up about 150 million rands a year over the past few years. So it is just not true.

[Van Koller] So there is not as much economic slump as one might think?

[Jones] Well, there is an economic slump, but that is something else altogether. If one takes the economy as a whole, yes, there is a decided slump. Indeed, over the past 7 years--the time for which we have figures--until 1984, the economic growth rate during 5 of those 7 years was negative. In some years, almost minus 5 percent. So I would agree that there is a definite economic slump.

[Van Koller] Mr Van Niekerk, what about the businessmen? How do they feel at the present time in South-West Africa?

[Van Niekerk] Recently businessmen have been of the opinion that government could be doing more to stimulate the economy, which is one of the reasons for the conference we held. But I must say that now, we in the private sector have been informed by government that they are prepared to make amends, they are prepared to allow us to deregulate, that some of the government departments can be privatized. So I think the onus now rests with the private sector to make its contribution now.

[Van Koller] At this stage, is the private sector able to present its case?

[Van Niekerk] Certainly. Just recently the cabinet announced that a committee is to be established which will concentrate on privatization. So I think now is the time to really do something. If a businessman comes up against regulations which keep his business from flourishing, he can take his problems to this committee and they will assuredly do something about it.

[Van Koller] Dr Jones, your reaction to that?

[Jones] I agree with Mr Van Niekerk. Of course, this is still only the beginning. The committee which is about to be appointed will of course have to examine the matter and see where the possibilities for privatization lie. The same applies to deregulation. But I think one can say confidently that the public sector is quite prepared and willing to assist wherever possible. I do not believe there is any opposition on this from the authorities.

[Van Koller] But the public sector receives a large input from Pretoria.

[Jones] Financially, yes. Financially, it receives a large input from Pretoria, but seldom if ever does Pretoria prescribe on how these funds have to be used or how we have to conduct our own affairs.

[Van Koller] What about the medium term? What has to be done to get out of this slump?

[Jones] I believe the most important thing to be done is that we have to be given clarity on where we are headed constitutionally. You know, an investor is not inclined to have to take political risks. That is not his task. Nor can we expect him to invest his money in a situation of political uncertainty, if he does not know who will be in authority the day after tomorrow or what kind of policy that government will follow. So the very first step, without any doubt, is political stability, a government well-disposed toward the businessman, and above all, perhaps, the prospect that that situation will be maintained for the medium term, let us say for 5 or 10 years.

[Van Koller] So the political aspect first has to be sorted out?

[Jones] In my opinion, it is the first requirement, because regardless of whatever else we do, it will have little effect if this is not sorted out.

[Van Koller] And what is the political situation at present?

[Jones] You are asking us something which does not fall within our field, but in any case...

[Van Koller] But you did say it is important.

[Jones] I am positive, I am optimistic about it. As a matter of fact I feel that even since 17 June, when the present interim government came into power, there has already been a marked increase in the trust and confidence among the business sector. I believe the present government is acting very sensibly towards the business community, and the very fact that they have been doing so for a considerable period of time is having a positive effect. If, in addition, they are able to remove the points of contention which exist, then I am very optimistic about the future.

[Van Koller] We will return to the politics of the territory later. Mr Van Niekerk, do you share the views of Dr Jones?

[Van Niekerk] I agree with him, except that I think at this stage we are placing too much emphasis on political reform. I believe the economy and politics go hand in hand. I believe that what has to be done is that the authorities should accept the private sector as an equal partner, and vice versa. In order to create a real confidence in the economy, we will have to work together, so there will be no suspicion, as was the case in the past...

[Van Koller] What do you mean by suspicion?

[Van Niekerk] By that I mean the private sector accusing the authorities of too many regulations, and the government, on its part, claiming that the private sector has all the opportunities but is wasting them. That is what I mean. But I do believe that if we stop that kind of thing and begin to implement the initiatives taken among others by the Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce, we will find that many of the territory's political problems will be solved.

[Van Koller] Dr Jones, the cost to South Africa to keep South-West Africa going is more than 1 billion rands, and the South African taxpayers are beginning to get restless. The questions being asked are whether South-West Africa is not too expensive for Pretoria, and whether it is worth it for Pretoria to keep the territory going. What is your reaction?

[Jones] Well, we here cannot answer that question for South Africa. But I would just like to point out that the billion rands you mention include defense, and defense accounts for the greatest share of that amount. And one has to remember that that expense will not end the day the SADF leaves South-West Africa. The soldiers and weaponry now being used here will not be sold or discarded and the people dismissed from the defense force. On the contrary, they will simply be moved to another part of South Africa. So, in other words, that share of the expense will continue. The other issue is that of course South Africa has to ask itself what is being achieved by this, why is it doing this? And this now involves the

strategic factor. I believe that it is important to South Africa to have security on its northwestern border, to know that it is in control of the situation on that border. So, all this is not just charity--at least, that is how we here see it. But let me add that we are grateful for the assistance we get from South Africa, and that we would like to continue this cooperation.

[Van Koller] Doctor, what about SWAPO? Is a thought given to SWAPO, which is the unknown factor in the politics and economy of the territory? Is thought given to the future, and to the role that SWAPO may play in the future?

[Jones] My impression is that it is being taken into account. I have to say, though, that economically it is difficult to consider SWAPO. One does not know if they will come into power and, if they do, what policy they will follow. But as regards my little contact with the present political authorities, I must say they are very much aware of the SWAPO factor. They are aware that SWAPO is the alternative government to themselves. So they never lose sight of this factor.

[Van Koller] Mr Van Niekerk, what about the business community?

[Van Niekerk] I am not aware of any contribution to our economy by SWAPO. And I would not like to say anything about any possible contribution they may make. All I want to ...

[Van Koller] Why do you not want to say anything on that?

[Van Niekerk] Because I know too little about the activities of SWAPO. I am interested in what the businessman can do to contribute towards the economy. And the role of the authorities in regard to our economy, and to what extent they will allow the private sector to make such contribution.

[Van Koller] Gentlemen, we have to wind up now. Dr Jones, can we look briefly at South-West Africa and South Africa's economic interdependence in the future? Let us assume a new government comes into power some day, could this reality be ignored, and will South Africa continue to play an important role in this regard?

[Jones] Certainly. My view--and I do not hide this fact, I say so loudly here in South-West Africa at every possible occasion, and I hope SWAPO hears this too--it is my view that South-West Africa cannot survive without South Africa, at least not for the foreseeable future. And I am now speaking purely economically. I think it would be tragic if a government came to power here and wanted to break the ties with Pretoria overnight. If it has to be done, if such a government does come into power and wants to break these ties, then it has to be done gradually over a long period. There is no doubt that we are closely integrated with the South African economy. Over the past so many years--what is it now, more than 60 years--we have practically been administered as a fifth province.

And to break these ties would be like wanting to separate Siamese twins, with fatal results, at least for the South-West African economy.

[Van Koller] You speak of the foreseeable future. What do you mean by that?

[Jones] I would say if such a matter has to be attempted--and I would not really ever like to see it done--then I would like to see it done over a period of 10 to 15 years. There are several reasons for this. As you know, we have many economic possibilities which could come into their own after independence. I am thinking now, for example, about the fishing resources on the west coast, which hopefully will improve considerably after independence, provided it is recognized internationally. Those fishing resources are at present exhausted. It could take several years before they recover fully. I am also thinking about the Kudo gasfield, which is going to take 10 years to develop. So we will need the time to get onto our own feet.

[Van Koller] Thank you very much, Doctor. And a final word from you, Mr Van Niekerk?

[Van Niekerk] I agree with Dr Jones that South-West Africa certainly cannot become independent economically in the foreseeable future, not from South Africa. Nevertheless, I do believe there is considerable potential which can be developed. As I said, if more trust can be created between the public and private sectors, then a rose-colored future awaits our country.

[Van Koller] Mr Van Niekerk does the South-West African businessman realize that the "weaning" period is drawing nearer, if I may use that word?

[Van Niekerk] The South-West African businessman realizes this now, following the recent conference.

[Van Koller] Sirs, thank you for participating in "Network". Goodnight.

/12858

CSO: 3400/1359

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

PHARMACEUTICAL IMPORT STATISTICS--Thirty million Naira worth of finished drug products would be imported this year, Minister of Health, Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti, has said. In addition, about 20 million Naira worth of drug products will be imported as raw materials for local drug manufacturing. The minister said at the end of his tour of Federal Health institutions in Kano State that import licences would be made available to pharmaceutical companies to bring in drugs and raw materials for sale in shops. He stated that the various teaching hospitals would also have their own share of drugs. The minister, however, emphasised that until the petrochemical industry got off stream, the bulk of the country's drug needs would continue to be imported. He added that local manufacturers were being encouraged to manufacture simple drugs. Professor Ransome-Kuti described the proposed Kano State Teaching Hospital as a very important project. He pointed out, however, that financial constraints was affecting its execution. He gave an assurance that this would be embarked upon as soon as funds were available. Professor Ransome-Kuti has since returned to Lagos. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 Feb 86 p 13] /12851

UKIWE ON CHAD--The political instability in Chad causes economic and social problems in Nigeria, Chief of General Staff Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe said yesterday. Commodore Ukiwe cited the influx of refugees into the country from war-torn Chad as one of the problems. He was speaking in his office at Dodan Barracks when a Chadian delegation from President Hissen Habre called on him with a letter from their country's leader for President Ibrahim Babangida. Mr Adoun Moussaseis, the Chadian Minister of Economy and Commerce came with Mr Ali Salim, an adviser to President Habre. During the exchange of views, Commodore Ukiwe said Nigeria was very disturbed by the ongoing crisis in Chad. He told the delegation that Nigeria felt for Chad because "it is a brotherly country." Commodore Ikiwe expressed the view that Chad will know peace the day foreign troops left that country. He said the current visit of our External Affairs Minister, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, to Paris and Libya was a clear indication that Nigeria wanted the return of peace in Chad. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 27 Feb 86 p 7] /12851

ARMY LITERACY CLASSES--All unit commanders at the Second Airmobile Brigade of the Nigerian Army in Port Harcourt, Rivers State have been ordered to release illiterate soldiers under them to attend the mass literacy campaign organised by the army. The brigade commander, Lt Col S.V.L. Malu, said at the passing out parade of the second batch graduates of the campaign that unit commanders must release such illiterate soldiers en masse for the third course which begins on Saturday. Col Malu further ordered that the brigade's chief education officer, Major Dominic Ukpounu, should report to him the level of attendance at the course two weeks after its commencement. Failure to carry out these orders, the brigade commander warned, would be viewed as flouting of army instruction. He said his brigade would not rest until every qualified soldier went through the course stressing that the value of a literate soldier or any literate persons for that matter, cannot be over emphasised. Earlier at the ceremony, Major Ukpounu had disclosed that out of the 149 soldiers that took part in the course, 122 were successful. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 27 Feb 86 p 7] /12851

WEAPONS TRAINING STARTS--A one-month weapons training of the 52 Division headquarters and Signals has begun at Odogbo Cantonment -- Ojoo in Ibadan Oyo State. The exercise is intended to give soldiers the opportunity to readdress themselves to good weapons handling which will ensure accuracy in shooting. Units participating in the exercise include, 42 Engineers Brigade, 242 Recce Battalion, 2 Base Ordnance Depot and 2 Base Workshop -- Eleiyele. Others are 2 supply and Transport Battalion, 2 Ammunition Base Depot, 520 Signals Regiment, Military Hospital, 2 Records Office and the Nigerian Army Intelligence Group, Ibadan. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 1 Mar 86 p 10] /12851

BRAZILIAN NAVY COOPERATION--The Nigerian Navy and its Brazilian counterpart should maintain the friendship between them to enhance cooperation. The Chief of Naval Staff, Commodore Augustus Aikhomu, said this yesterday while receiving the captain of the visiting Brazilian Navy Task Group, Mr Charles Edmundo de Larcercia Pereira, in his office. He promised the visitors that the Nigerian Navy would in its tradition provide the crew with adequate logistics, facilities and protection during their stay and at their departure. He later presented gifts of carvings to the visiting group who in turn gave Commodore Aikhomu an artwork of the Brazilian "Carnival Celebration". The Brazilian Navy Task Group, which made a similar visit in February last year, sailed into the Lagos harbor on Thursday. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 1 Mar 86 p 24] /12851

CSO: 3400/1339

SWAZILAND

ADVANTAGES OF CHARCOAL USE AS ENERGY SOURCE DESCRIBED

Luanda SADCC ENERGY III in English No 10 85 pp 71, 72

[Text] On the other hand, charcoal production accompanied by reafforestation can provide a large proportion of the population with a cheap and suitable source of energy; provide employment to people living in the rural areas, especially young people, thus reducing urban migration; improve economic efficiency by increasing goods and services available to the Swazi society; increase social, political and economic stability; and has an impact on the balance of payments through reduction of imports of petroleum products. Charcoal can also earn foreign currency through export.

At present, many countries at different economic stages of development, such as the less developed countries, newly industrialised countries and developed countries use charcoal for various puposes. For instance in Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana and Sudan charcoal is very popular among the urban population. The Brazilians have been using charcoal as a main source of energy in the iron and steel industry since its beginning.

In Swaziland wood charcoal is not a common source of energy. At present, very few people use it and the retail selling at Mbabane and Manzini, the average price was about 40 cts/kg. This price greatly exceeds that of paraffin and therefore, it is hardly surprising that only very few Swazis have taken advantage of charcoal. The charcoal production project aims to reverse this trend and to promote it as a suitable replacement for wood, coal and paraffin as a popular source of energy for the majority of the population at a reasonable price.

CHARCOAL DEMAND

The expected charcoal needs for the traditional sector can be derived from the earlier estimates of the users of firewood, coal and paraffin. The estimates are illustrated below.

DOMESTIC DEMAND AND THE ADOPTION OF CHARCOAL						
Year	Estimated total population de facto resident	Rural and urban areas fuelwood consumers	Target consumers 50% of (1)	Rate of adoption consumption charcoal	Number of consumers	Estimates of charcoal (t/year)
1983	605,172	467,798	233,899			
1984	625,901	478,631	239,315			
1986	669,734	510,672	255,336	2.5	7,428	3,712
1990	797,609	594,218	297,109	13.5 = 16%	47,537	23,769
1995	911,497	663,114	331,557	34.5 = 50%	165,779	82,890
2000	1,086,004	782,467	391,234	34.5 = 84%	330,393	165,297

The above estimates are based on the following assumptions:

1. The target consumers will be 50% of the estimated firewood users, in different respective years.
2. Adoption process is expected to follow a normal distribution curve. The estimated adoption by users shall reach 84.5% of the target consumers by the end of the century — year 2000.
3. The average consumption will be 500 kg of charcoal per year per person. This is equivalent to approx. 16 000 MJ. Surveys in African and Asian countries indicate consumption rates ranging from 250 up to 900 kg of charcoal/person/year, the rate depending on GNP and on availability of the product. As the GNP of Swaziland is relatively high for African standards and as availability will be assumed, a figures of 500 kg/person/year seems reasonable. The per capita consumption of 15 000 MJ equals three times the figure we used before to assess the deforestation rate. But in the latter case, we assumed a situation of acute shortage and we wanted to use conservative figures.

EXPORT DEMAND

In order to successfully face the export market, charcoal has to comply with the following specifications:

- a) carbon content of approx. 75%
- b) size of 28 mm minimum
- c) moisture content 7-8%

All these criteria can be met when using the technology in use in Brazil. In addition, deliveries have to be reliable and fast, packing done according to European standards and the price/ton FOB African port should not exceed US\$200 (1982 price). In 1982, the European Community market for charcoal was approx. 60 000 t/year and is expanding at a rate well over 15%. European wholesalers we contacted showed interest in buying 30-40 000 t/year. Under these conditions an export target of 30 000 t/year seems reasonable.

LOCAL INDUSTRY DEMAND

An estimated 10 000 t/year will be projected for local industry demand.

Forest surface: In order to determine surface needed to produce this charcoal, we base our calculation on the figures obtained nowadays in Brazil in routine production with Eucalyptus plants, under similar climatic conditions as the highveld, and for the same charcoal quality desired in Swaziland.

Forest output: Dense forests of 5000 trees/ha show a yearly increase of dry wood of 30-40 m³/ha. The rotation cycle is 3 years. The average diameter of trees is 10 cm. The density of dry wood is 0.43 t/m³.

Carbonization yield: Beehive brick kilns (5 m of diameter), also to be used in

Swaziland, have a yield of 0.33-0.36 t of charcoal/t of dry wood. The density of charcoal is 0.22 t/m³. The output per kiln per year is 140 t. Kilns are grouped in batteries of seven; several batteries constitute a production centre.

Transposing the figures in a model which could be applied to Swaziland, we can assume that these carbonization yields can be achieved by setting up an adequate training programme for kiln operators. Forest output could be more of a problem as soil response cannot be predicted with accuracy and more conservative figures should be used, like a rotation cycle of 4-5 years instead of 3 years. We shall consider both cases, favourable and unfavourable, resulting in the following figures:

Favourable conditions:

Forest output: 40 m³/ha/year
Rotation cycle: 4 years
Carbonization: 0.36

Dry wood output:
 $40 \text{ m}^3/\text{ha}/\text{y} \times 0.43 = 17.2 \text{ t}/\text{ha}/\text{y}$

Charcoal production:
 $17.2 \times 4 \times 0.36 = 25 \text{ t}/\text{ha}$

Total forest surface needed to produce 1000 tons of charcoal/year: 1,000: 25 × 4 = 160 ha

Unfavourable conditions:

Forest output: 30 m³/ha/year
Rotation cycle: 5 years
Carbonization yield: 0.33

Dry wood output:
 $30 \text{ m}^3/\text{ha}/\text{y} \times 0.43 = 12.9 \text{ t}/\text{ha}/\text{y}$

Charcoal production:
 $12.9 \times 5 \times 0.33 = 21 \text{ t}/\text{ha}$

Total forest surface needed to produce 1000 tons of charcoal/year: 1,000: 21 × 5 = 238 ha.

For all calculations in fig. 1 we will use the average figure of 200 ha of total forest land to produce 1000 tons of charcoal per year.

ACCUMULATED TOTAL OF CHARCOAL AND REQUIRED SURFACE AREA					
Year	Estimated number of consumers	Estimated charcoal demand (tons)	Industry and export target/year (tons)	Total charcoal required year (tons)	Total hectares
1988	7,424	3,712	40,000	43,712	8,740
1989	17,452	8,726	40,000	48,726	9,745
1990	27,480	13,740	40,000	53,740	10,740
1991	37,508	18,754	40,000	58,754	11,750
1992	47,537	23,769	40,000	63,769	12,750
1993	71,186	35,593	40,000	76,593	15,320
1994	94,834	47,417	42,000	89,417	17,883
1995	118,482	59,241	43,000	102,241	20,450
1996	142,130	71,065	44,000	115,065	23,013
1997	165,779	82,890	45,000	127,890	25,579
1998	198,742	99,371	45,000	144,371	28,874
1999	231,706	115,852	50,000	165,852	33,170
2000	264,666	132,333	50,000	182,333	36,470
2001	297,628	148,814	51,000	199,814	39,960
2002	330,593	165,297	55,000	220,297	44,060

Once charcoal is introduced to the public as a source of fuel, continuous supplies will have to be assured. In our earlier computation of domestic demand and the adoption process of charcoal, it was estimated that adoption will be gradual and will follow a normal distribution pattern. It has been estimated that by 1986 at least 2.5% of the target consumers will adopt and use charcoal. The adoption process as indicated will be long and it is to be expected that by the year 2002 up to 84% of the target consumers are likely to become charcoal users. These optimistic calculations are based on the present economic conditions and the government's emphasis on economic development.

In considering the expected domestic demand and the export market, the area required will range from 8740 ha for 1988 to 44,060 ha for 2002. The plantation of forests will have to be organized according

to a timing enabling production to keep up with demand.

The most suitable land for charcoal production is situated in the highveld region. The main attributes are the climatic conditions, altitude and physical characteristics of the land. The illustration below indicates land use in the highveld region of Swazi Nation Land.

The land suitable for charcoal production falls within the Swazi Nation Land. The Rural Development Areas (RDA's) have obvious advantages over the non-rural development areas, such as an organized communal structure and leadership which is closely linked to the central government.

The suitable RDA's are: a) Siphocosi-Motshane; b) Mahlangaishu; c) Northern; d) Maponono-Velezizweni; e) Mahamba-Zombodze; and the suitable areas within the Swazi Nation Land are: a) area between Makayene and Nhlangua; b) area adjacent to Hlatikulu; c) area between Mbabane and Jacks; d) area between Motshane and Maponono RDA.

		Area occupied by individual Swazi holding	Breakdown of Swazi holdings crop land	Individual area under fallow (1)	land (2)	Unallocated communal land (3)
Total geographical area (ha)	260,290	26,434	22,196	2,445	1,793	233,856
Non-rural development area (ha)	137,530	7,993	6,449	1,130	414	129,537
Minimum input RDA (ha)	17,360	2,533	2,166	280	87	827
Maximum input RDA (ha)	105,400	15,908	13,581	1,035	1,292	89,492

Source: Central Statistics Office: 1) Include wood lots and potential productive land. 2) Include areas under and around homesteads, cattle, kraals, etc. 3) Includes communal grazing land, mountains, hills and wasteland.

ZAIRE

GOVERNMENT REACTS TO SUGGESTION OF TIES WITH UNITA

AB200949 Paris AFP in French 0852 GMT 20 Mar 86

[Text] Kinshasa, 20 Mar (AFP) -- Zaire agreed to allow UNITA's hostages released last Saturday in the southwestern part of the country to pass through its territory, but the Zairian authorities were particularly "annoyed" by the fact that the Angolan armed opposition movement is trying to suggest the existence of a link between it and the Zairian Government, an informed source in Kinshasa indicated on Tuesday.

President Mobutu Sese Seko agreed to the International Red Cross request to accept the hostages kidnapped on 1 March in northeastern Angola some kilometers from the Zairian border, but he ordered an inquiry to determine the conditions in which UNITA's men had been able to enter the country.

Informed at the end of last week while he was on board his yacht some 600 kilometers from Kinshasa that 44 UNITA elements and a group of hostages had crossed the Kasai River which separates Zaire and Angola, the Zairian head of state personally gave instructions that the elements be disarmed and driven back to their place of origin, the same source added.

Since 1978 when relations between Kinshasa and Luanda were normalized, the Zairian government has "scrupulously" respected the spirit of the agreements signed with Angola which include the maintenance of good-neighborly relations between both countries, the same source pointed out.

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CS0: 3400/1348

ZIMBABWE

PAFEP VIEWS SOVIET DESIRE TO INCREASE LINKS

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 20 Feb 86 p 14

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text]

SOVIET interest in Zimbabwe has shown a marked increase in the wake of the visit to Moscow in December of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

Western observers here are watching with close attention the development of this trend when viewed against the background of the volatile Southern African scene.

This week a five-man Soviet delegation arrived to explore ways of implementing the joint agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed in Moscow on Mr Mugabe's first visit to the Soviet Union since Zimbabwe became independent nearly six years ago.

According to the deputy Soviet ambassador here, Mr Vladimir Silkin, the delegation which is examining economic and industrial projects where the Soviet Union might give assistance will be joined by another five-man delegation on trade for more talks next week.

This month has also seen the holding of a workshop on Zimbabwe's trade and economic relations with Eastern European countries. This was attended by officials and experts from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, East Germany and

Hungary as well as the Soviet Union.

The Zimbabwe government took the opportunity to appeal to the socialist countries to help implement the five-year national development plan due to be launched soon.

Barter agreements have helped to increase trade with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe but it is still tiny when set against business conducted with Zimbabwe's traditional trading partners such as South Africa, Britain, West Germany and the United States.

A senior Soviet government official, Mr Yuri Youkalov, has also been in Harare recently and said afterwardss he had had discussions with leading Zanu(PF) officials, government Ministers and foreign affairs officers on "the serious situation in Southern Africa in the light of recent developments".

He said the Soviet Union and Zimbabwe had a common assessment of the developments which included condemnation of the reception accorded the Angolan Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in the United States.

Of more concern to Western embassies however was the un-

publicised visit of a Soviet defence team. This was a follow-up to the talks in general terms on military aid from the Soviet Union which Mr Mugabe had in Moscow.

There is speculation that an agreement might include the provision of fighter aircraft and an air defensive system. Mr Mugabe himself said after his return from the Soviet Union that Zimbabwe was aware of the threat to it from South Africa and must be in a position to ward off this.

He said then it was up to Zimbabwe to see what the Soviet Union had to offer.

It has been announced here that a Zimbabwe delegation to the 27th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union next week will be led by a senior politburo member, Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, the Minister of State for Political Affairs in the Prime Minister's office.

One view held by Western observers is that the Soviet Union will not waste any opportunity now to do what it can to increase its influence in Zimbabwe, particularly in view of the assumption later this year by Mr Mugabe of the leadership of the 101-nation Non-aligned Movement.

The Soviets have a lot of ground to make up because of the suspicion which persisted in the early years of Zimbabwe's independence that the ties established during the guerilla war between Moscow and Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party could be prejudicial to the plans of Mr Mugabe's victorious Zanu(PF) party.

However the appointment of a Zimbabwean ambassador to Moscow last year was interpreted as a signal that relations with the Soviet Union were now on a correct footing and the seal was put on this by Mr Mugabe's December visit.

Agreements between the two countries now include a cultural and scientific pact, a trade agreement and the agreement on economic and technical co-operation.

Late last year the Soviet embassy here bought a R280 000 property in Harare's diplomatic zone to be developed as a centre for trade mission activities and staff.

Accredited diplomats are limited to between 30 and 40 officials but it is possible that the inclusion of officials and advisers in other capacities could see an increase in the number of Soviet personnel in Zimbabwe this year.

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CSO: 3400/1344

ZIMBABWE

TRANSPORT MINISTER CRITICIZES AIR ZIMBABWE MANAGEMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 8 Feb 86 p 1

[Text]

THE Minister of Transport, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, has charged Air Zimbabwe with gross mismanagement and has obtained Cabinet approval for a "maladministration audit".

The general manager, Cde Augustine Mutyanbizi, who had not signed his contract with the airline and who was heavily criticised by the minister for much of the management problems at the airline, has now been placed on probation as acting general manager for six months during which time he must prove himself able to administer the airline and its developing technology.

In a recent policy statement given to the board and top management of the national airline, the minister said urgent action was needed otherwise the corporation could collapse totally around the middle of the year.

His 18-month study of the board and top management of the airline showed that among other things there was gross financial mismanagement, overstaffing, poorly qualified people in senior posts, no serious training programmes and a tendency to hire white pensioners rather than train suitable people.

The minister said that despite protracted discussion on the signing of the general manager's contract, there was no record of the matter being concluded.

"The offer of this contract is now withdrawn and the general manager will now be acting general manager on probation for six months, in which time he must show competence to run this airline."

The general manager evaded policy issues and making decisions in the hope they would sort themselves out or disappear, said the minister.

The airline at the end of last year owed almost \$84 million, double the \$35 million owed on January 19 1984.

Air Zimbabwe was borrowing money to pay interest and rolling over the principal debt. The minister said the situation could be remedied if a strong financial person took over the financial management although his success would depend on the capabilities and direction from the airline's top office.

The minister said the board had not discussed the training of Zimbabweans for senior positions nor ways of training pilots from scratch.

There had been no board discussion of financial policy and management had been allowed to borrow without corrective measures being taken.

The chairman of the board, Mr Robert Kerswell, told a later board meeting that a special meeting would be held to discuss the minister's points in the policy statement which he described as "live issues" and which would be treated with the seriousness they deserved.

Cde Ushewokunze wrote to the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Dr Bernard Chidzero in November, suggesting the need for a maladministration audit to look into what sort of financial information was available and to highlight areas giving rise to excessive costs or revenue losses. If there was adequate information then the amount of money lost through maladministration could be quantified.

Cde Chidzero thought the proposed action sensible and that it "should form a sound basis for the future administration of a vital service to the economy". Cabinet subsequently agreed.

In the conclusion of his statement, the minister said: "If there were a university on managerial incompetence, most of the present managers would be professors there."

ZIMBABWE

AIR ZIMBABWE CHIEF REJECTS MINISTER'S STATEMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Feb 86 p 1

[Text]

AIR ZIMBABWE'S chief executive, Cde Augustine Mutyambizi, says he is still the airline's general manager and has challenged the decision by the Minister of Transport, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, to demote him to acting general manager and put him 'on six months' probation.

Cde Mutyambizi has also rejected the minister's statement that the airline faces total collapse about the middle of this year.

He was commenting in a statement to The Herald yesterday on a recent ministerial statement to the airline's board and top management.

(A fuller version of the statement appears on Page 4.)

Cde Mutyambizi said that although he had not signed his contract with Air Zimbabwe it had been read out to him in December 1983 at a board meeting and he had accepted the terms. It was thus binding on both him and the airline and so he could not be legally demoted.

The minister himself was still addressing Cde Mutyambizi as general manager.

Cde Mutyambizi added: "I would like to assure the public that the minister's prophecy of total airline collapse around the middle of this year should be ignored and forgotten."

It was as likely as a collapse of the Government. "I can honestly assure the travelling public that Air Zimbabwe will continue to provide the most effective and efficient service attainable. Therefore the minister's statement should not affect present and future bookings on Air Zimbabwe."

The airline would welcome an independent and authoritative investigation. He had said this in a letter to Cde Ushewokunze on November 28 last year. In his recent statement Cde Ushewokunze said the Cabinet had approved a "maladministration audit" of the airline. "We have nothing to hide," said Cde Mutyambizi.

He said the dispute with the minister started when he refused to acquiesce in the appointment of certain people to airline posts, although he had been directed to do so by the minister. He felt the people concerned were unsuitable.

There had then been a number of inquiries from the minister, which the general manager answered himself after doing the necessary research as he did not want his staff to know of the battle with the minister.

The general manager said he had yet to read the policy statement and that questions and comments had not been allowed at the meeting the minister convened to read it.

He specifically denied morale was poor, untidiness was rampant, that captains on overseas flights abused accommodation arrangements, that a financial director was allowed to resign after embezzling funds, and that decision-making was something he was frightened of.

He denied there were no cash flow forecasts, late payments or illegal use of import licences, or that the accounts division was in disarray. Invoices, he said, were checked and the informal borrowing of an aircraft engine was under investigation.

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ZIMBABWE

NKALA SAYS DISSIDENTS ARE TARGET, NOT ZAPU

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Feb 86 pp 1, 7

[Text]

GOVERNMENT security operations in Matabeleland are designed solely to smash the dissident menace and there is no intention to persecute Zapu, the Minister of Home Affairs, Cde Enos Nkala, says.

In a recent interview he denied that he was being too tough on Zapu and that it was the Government's intention to "wipe out" the party; if it was, it would be very easy to ban Zapu.

The problem was that members of the party were prone to committing crimes. "Zapu runs dissidents. People are dying day in and day out because of dissidents; women are being raped; schools are being burned.

"Where are these dissidents operating from? The answer is that they are operating within Zapu, especially in Matabeleland where Zapu has full support.

"Dissidents don't know where boreholes are, where Government parties are, who Zanu (PF) officials are. They are shown these people or these infrastructures or officials by Zapu members," the minister said.

He did not sit in his office, conceiving ideas for detaining Zapu leaders for no reason. Not all Zapu members and leaders

were criminal, or were associating with dissidents. "We deal only with those who deliberately and purposefully encourage any dissident activity, or who support subversive activities."

Banning Zapu would be easy, he said. "We can order a sweep of Zapu any time; but that's not our intention.

"I don't care what anybody says: I don't care what anybody thinks. The sole purpose of the operations in Matabeleland is to get rid of the dissident menace. Those people who talk a lot of nonsense about persecution of Zapu don't know how much the people in Matabeleland are suffering."

South Africa was still using "Super-Zapu" dissidents and collaborating with certain Zapu leaders, the minister said. "We even know the camps where they are training Super-Zapu dissidents. If there was no South Africa, there would be no dissidents in this country today."

Detention was legal in Zimbabwe, said the minister, and was necessary when there was need to establish certain facts. "The evidence we have against some people is staggering."

He said there had been a deliberate campaign against him by the Western Press and some Church leaders and he felt bitter about this. Amnesty International and the same Church leaders had spoken out very strongly against Ian Smith, but had now changed, said Cde Nkala.

"They are now gullible children. I was shaken when I went out there, only to find these kids who have not come through the school of life. Anything they get from anyone, no matter how incredible, is included in their report without proper verification."

He went to Amnesty International while in London to confirm the reports of mistreatment and deaths. "And all

Amnesty International could say was that it could not get any further evidence."

On coming back from London the minister went to the places named in the Amnesty report and had spoken to the people there and the detainees privately. "They said they were not being beaten and that they were provided with three meals a day."

At Stops Camp in Bulawayo he had spoken even to those suspected of killing farmers, those suspected dissidents, sent back from Botswana and some self-confessed dissidents. "The story was the same: no torture and no maltreatment."

"I challenge Amnesty International," said the minister, "to come and visit any place of their choice and we promise to charge those that may have done anything wrong."

He denied stories circulating in diplomatic circles that Lord Soames had brought to his attention mistreatment of

detainees and that he, Cde Nkala, had gone to Bulawayo and had confirmed these himself. "There is absolutely no truth in this claim."

Asked about one police unit, the PISI, the minister said it was only an undercover unit like any other undercover unit and he was surprised that they had been given such a bad name when they did not even arrest people.

They were policemen and subject to police discipline. "Their job is to bring information to the uniformed branches and the CID. They are doing a very good job. They have always been around, except they have changed names over time. They will be around as long as their services continue to be needed."

The minister said first it was 5 Brigade which was villified; now it was police intelligence.

Cde Nkala did not know if the unity talks would succeed. Zapu leader Dr Joshua Nkomo had never succeeded in any talks — or in any-

thing else — although he had been in politics for 30 years and had even held talks with the enemy. Operations against criminal activities would continue even with talks in progress, he said.

Cde Nkala also denied that he had ever asked for or had volunteered for the job of Minister of Home Affairs. It was the Prime Minister's prerogative to assign who he wished to a particular job.

Cde Nkala had been Minister of Finance and had then been asked to set up the Ministry of National Supplies where he had sorted out problems like the Paweni scandal. "I think the Prime Minister had felt I had done enough there."

The minister said there had been a bit of indiscipline in the police but he was now happy. Discipline had been demonstrably improved and the efficiency of the force was back to where it had been before independence.

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CSO: 3400/1347

ZIMBABWE

NKOMO SAYS ZANU, ZAPU COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING UNITY

Harare THE HERALD in English 10 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

BULAWAYO.

ZANU (PF) and Zapu are irrevocably committed to unity and there should be no problems in proceeding with the unity talks, the president of Zapu, Dr Joshua Nkomo, told a huge rally at White City Stadium here yesterday.

However, the unity had to have no preconditions that would create more serious problems than those which it sought to solve, Dr Nkomo said.

He also condemned dissidents and said any ex-Zipra man who became one was a criminal and was not acting on behalf of Zipra, which no longer existed.

The Zapu leader referred to a statement on Christmas Day 1985, in which the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, said both parties had agreed on policies and that the only thing remaining was the leadership question.

"The question of leadership is a transitory one as leaders come and go. The question of a forum for Zanu (PF) and Zapu is more important," Dr Nkomo said.

He confirmed the parties had agreed on a one-party state.

"What the Prime Minister did not say is that we agreed that Zanu (PF) and Zapu are irrevocably committed to unity" said the Zapu president, adding that differences between the two were "very few".

Dr Nkomo said his party did not want to come back to the people at the end of the talks and report failure.

The unity talks had to bring peace to the country he said. "If the talks do not bring tranquillity and peace then they are not worth it."

He gave a brief history of the struggle against colonialism in Zimbabwe and said that each time there had been division in the nationalist ranks ending in the formation of new parties the rift had been healed.

"We went to Geneva as a united leadership under the Patriotic Front. We went to Lancaster House and returned home as the Patriotic Front. But then came the tragedy when we fought the 1980 election as Zanu (PF) and Zapu," said the Zapu leader.

On the problem of dissidents, Dr Nkomo said

he had been invited for talks by the Minister of Home Affairs, Cde Enos Nkala.

"The minister and I agreed to go and address meetings in the rural areas so that people there could be taught how to

defend themselves against dissidents because this dissident nonsense must stop now," Dr Nkomo told the rally.

"We also agreed that whenever people come to me to report dissidents I should take those people to the police where they can make a full report and then we should move together to the rural areas," he said.

Last week, he said, people from Nkayi and Kezi came to him to report the presence of dissidents and he took them to senior police officers at Stops Camp in Bulawayo.

"We agreed to go to the rural areas together but nothing happened. I telephoned the minister afterwards but nothing has happened since then," Dr Nkomo said.

"We fought together so that we may talk, not so that we can fight again," he said. — Ziana.

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CSO: 3400/1344

ZIMBABWE

TWO FORMER SENIOR AIDES TO NKOMO RELEASED FROM DETENTION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Mar 86 p 12

[Text]

HARARE. — Mr Lookout Masuku and Mr Vote Moyo, two former senior aides to the opposition leader, Dr Joshua Nkomo, were released from detention on Tuesday, the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Enos Nkala, has announced.

In a statement issued on Tuesday night, he said both men had been advised they could be redetained if they did not co-operate with the government.

Mr Masuku, one of Dr Nkomo's two top military commanders in the insurgent war which led to Zimbabwean independence, had been freed on the grounds of ill health, Mr Nkala said.

Opposition Zapu Party sources said Mr Masuku had been in hospital for the past few weeks with meningitis.

They said Mr Moyo, former Zapu secretary-general, was in good health. He had told friends he

wanted to continue in politics and favoured current unity talks between Zapu and the ruling Zanu (PF) Party.

Mr Masuku was arrested in March 1982 in connection with the discovery of arms caches on farms owned by Zapu.

He and six other men were tried the following year on treason charges. He was acquitted but immediately redetained.

Mr Moyo (54) was arrested in June 1984 as he left parliament in central Harare. At detention review hearings it was alleged he had been involved in a plot to kill the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe. But no charges were brought.

Until Mr Masuku was transferred to Harare's Parirenyatwa Hospital, both men were held at the Chikurubi maximum security prison west of the capital. — Sapa-Reuter.

/9317
CSO: 3400/1347

SOUTH AFRICA

TRADITIONS OF AFB WATERKLOOF'S 24 SQUADRON ENDURE

Pretoria PARATUS in English Mar 86 p 26-32

[Article by Pte S.B. Cohen]

[Text] **T**HE squadron was actually born at Nanyuki in 1940. Although initially known as 14 Squadron, in April 1941 the squadron number was changed from 14 to 24 to avoid confusion with the Royal Air Force squadron numbered 14.

The rechristened 24 Squadron of the South African Air Force more than distinguished itself during the hectic years of World War II, until its last operation in April 1945.

During this period, the squadron collected some 20 Battle Honours, the most of any squadron in the Air Force, amongst these being the notorious battles of East Africa, Addis Ababa, El Alamein, Sicily, Tunis and Italy.

At El Alamein alone, 24 Squadron out-fought all bomber records when it flew 1 001 sorties in 50 days.

The magnificent heroism of the squadron is reflected in the 182 members listed on its Roll of Honour, who gave their lives in service of their country.

FOR the 20 years from 1945 to 1965, the squadron ceased to formally operate and existed in a state of animated dormancy as a citizen force. In May 1965 the squadron was reformed at the Royal Naval Air Station Lossiemouth in Scotland. This squadron was equipped with Buccaneers, and it is here that the legend of AFB Waterkloof's 24 Squadron takes on its supersonic proportions.

The efficiency of the ground crew the heroism of the flight crew and the dedicated patriotism of the squadron as a whole, has not changed as its name has. The magnificent tradition of 24 Squadron has not been tempered by time, but enriched by it.

The squadron has replaced its outdated Marylands and Bostons with the sub-sonic, twin Rolls Royce Spey-engined Buccaneer S.Mk 50, which is a two-seater mid-wing monoplane carrying a pilot and a navigator in tandem.

This low-level strike aircraft has a basic weight of 31 000 lbs and can take off with a maximum weight of 55 000 lbs travelling at speeds of up to 1 070 km/h or mach 0.95.

The aircraft is capable of carrying eight 460 kg bombs, or four of these and four 68mm rocket launchers. Structural modifications allow for the carrying of greater bomb loads.

The flying distance or flying time possible is limited only by pilot exhaustion, as the Buccaneer has the ability to perform air-to-air refuelling.

The Buccaneer makes use of an external air source whereby air is supplied to the aircraft engines and this device, known as the palouste, (which is a compressed air generator passing air through the engine to start it running) is essential in order to initiate the Buccaneer's movement.

COSTING as much as a Buccaneer, and as long in service, is the simulator with its component capsules. All the controls of the Buccaneer are duplicated at a control panel, and whatever action the pilot performs in the pseudo-cockpit, is reflected on an external console.

Chris Hecker, Leading Hand for the Atlas Aircraft Corporation, test-flies the simulator every morning to see that it is serviceable. It is also he who monitors the pilots and the navigators when they perform their minimum compulsory simulator flying requirement.

Each flight crew member, new and old, must undergo at least one hour simulator flying (whereby actual flying conditions are duplicated 100%) per week.

The myriad of instruments that, to the unenlightened, looks like a technological nightmare, is composed of a technical instructor's console and a flight instructor's console. The former is used for training navigators in warfare, the delivery of weapons and target identifications, as well as procedures to follow when the radios are jammed.

On the flight instructor's console is reflected the pilot's efforts to deal with an emergency which has been generated. The pilot must rectify the situation in order to bring the aircraft back safely. With no visuals except for the instruments in the cockpit capsule, he must put himself down.

SOUTH Africa has been increasingly subjected to boycotts, sanctions and embargoes by the international world, and our chances of even attaining our original Buccaneers were reduced when Harold Wilson joined the voluntary arms embargo of our country in 1965. Wilson finally honoured the South African contract, but cancelled our option to buy more of these aircraft, and even had the construction jigs destroyed.

Inconvenient it may be, but out of this kind of attitude South Africans have developed a typically tough resilience and independence. All the parts and spares sent as part of the original contract have been carefully maintained by the ground crews of 24 Squadron.

In 1945, Air Chief Marshall Sir Arthur Tedder sent a signal to the SAAF which, in part, read . . . "Your boys, whether fighter pilots, bomber crews . . . or those magnificent ground staff men . . . maintained an effort quite beyond the bounds of human endeavour."

The superb qualities of 24 Squadron members is not something of the past. In 1979 Pablo Saldias Maripangue, of the Chilean Air Force, addressed a letter to the OC of 24 Squadron wherein he expressed "appreciation and admiration for the high professionalism of your men".

GROUND crew members of 24 Buccaneer Squadron are recruited from school and then subjected to a comprehensive apprenticeship on the Squadron. The men are trained in a practical fashion and also undergo general theory courses, conversion courses at the School for Technical Training, as well as specialized training within their specific fields.

Even when qualified, ground crews undergo continuous training to maintain their high standard of functioning. Fitters are concerned with looking after the air

frame and engines, and they also maintain the equipment necessary for air-to-air refuelling.

Cpl Roger Rich, a fitter on 24 Squadron, says that to keep the aircraft serviceable involves adaptability in order to cope "with lots of different snags that you maybe haven't seen before."

As the name implies, those in the instrument section of the ground crew are involved with the maintenance of instruments on the aircraft, as well as the functioning of the simulator section.

Radio/radar ground crew members maintain the radio, radar and weapons system of the Buccaneer, and the electrical circuitry of the craft as well as that of the simulator. The in-flight refuelling equipment falls under the auspices of those involved within the electrical section.

The ground crew members involved in the survival division have a particularly onerous task. They are responsible for the pilot's personal survival equipment — the masks, emergency rations, dinghy, sea/land food pack and parachute — that ensure the flight crews' safety.

Armaments section ground crew manage the functioning of the ejection seat, as well as the arming and disarming of bombs and missiles.

WO1 J.I. de Wet, who has had extensive experience with 24 Squadron, is justly proud of these men who keep a low profile, yet vitally responsible, role in the functioning of the squadron as a whole.

CPL Phillip (Flippie) Fryer is involved in the smooth running of the Operations Room of 24 Squadron. It is Flippie's task, in planning for one or two sorties a day, to fill in a comprehensive flight plan which is sent to the Base Operations Room of AFB Waterkloof. The Base Operations Room then contacts the control tower and supplies it with the necessary information.

Cpl Fryer contacts the ground crew and proceeds to confirm the walkout times, aircraft numbers and a report on the serviceability of the Buccaneers, which he subsequently relays to the pilots.

Procedures in the control tower are basically the same for the Buccaneer as for other aircraft, although arrivals and departures are low-level.

Initially, start clearance must be obtained, the pilot is then given a runway as well as a report of the necessary information such as the air pressure in millibars and the outside air temperature. The pilot then taxis onto a given runway where he is issued with a departure clearance and most take-off instructions dependent on the nature of the sortie.

THE Buccaneer is certainly if not the, then one of the most advanced aircraft in the SAAF. The crew of this high-speed low-level bomber is composed of a pilot and a navigator, seated in tandem and operating as two component parts of one whole system.

Capt Gavin McKellar, who joined the SAAF in 1978 and was posted to 24 Squadron in July 1984, is the most junior on the squadron and considers himself as very fortunate. Capt McKellar stresses his gratitude for the fact that the squadron has "allowed for my individual wants and needs."

"In the old days, a pilot was a daredevil kind of guy with dark glasses, a sports car and a couple of 'birds' in each town. Now a pilot seems to have calmed down a bit and is more concerned with doing a good job than with an impressive image."

Capt McKellar says that "for me, flying a Buccaneer is the top of the line — for me personally, to be on this squadron is the greatest honour."

According to Capt McKellar, the Buccaneer is a relatively easy, if unforgiving craft to manage, "although you can really feel it when you've flown a sortie," he says.

He asserts that he cannot see his future as being unrelated to flying, and he feels that the attributes necessary for being a Buccaneer pilot "are pretty much like those for being any pilot: 5:5 vision, some leadership quality and an ability to function rationally under stress."

Capt McKellar adds that "you've also got to have airmanship sense, with alertness being a major pre-requisite".

MAJ Riaan Mouton is in his eighth year of service with 24 Squadron where he flies the Buccaneer as a navigator. He describes his job as such: "Basically, the main job of the navigator is to keep the aircraft on track and on time. You are responsible for the aircraft's safety and you spend a lot of time making sure that you get it into a favourable situation from where you can do your attack so that it is guaranteed successful."

Maj Mouton says that "spoon-feeding on the squadron is out" due to high flying costs, few aircraft and the need for the other crew members to get their fair share of flights. Instructor input and the passing on of past experience have proven to be very beneficial in terms of training.

He stresses the importance of crew co-operation and expounds on the reasons for set teams of pilots and navigators.

"You put your most experienced pilot and navigator together as a crew to make sure you've got a formidable formation leading the strike."

Teams get allocated their own aircraft and are responsible for ungrading their

own competency through getting the hang of the aircraft and keeping statistics on the weapons system accuracy. "You must be aware of any shortcomings and consequent necessary compensation."

In terms of the personality of the navigator, Maj Mouton says that "what comes to the fore is a quiet professional attitude to flying and an on-the-ball sharpness."

"The guys here are all very bright, very mature and they've got that quiet sort of confidence without being overly confident." He also stresses an ability to adapt and react appropriately "off the cuff" as well as quick-witted reactions to interceptions or deviations.

Maj Mouton says that "the same way that the public believes in the daredevil pilot, they also believe that navigators died out during World War II."

Although route and task force navigators can be replaced by a black box, "in an air force like the SAAF, which is tactical orientated, a black box can never replace a man who is trained to read the situation and plan accordingly."

"For every hour that you spend in the air, the navigators spend four hours hunch-backed over their maps concentrating on a pre-flight prediction of how a sortie should go."

Maj Mouton says that "it's a love for aviation that compels us to fly." There is an immediate result for him against which he can check his flight prediction. "The job satisfaction is immediate." The rocket-assisted take off system specifically designed for the South African Buccaneers to compensate for high temperatures and equally high altitudes, has been replaced by a scheme whereby air blown over the wings results in flying speed much earlier.

He recollects an occasion when "climbing to 30 000 feet on a test flight, the serviceable engine, that is, the one not on test, packed up. It wasn't a critical problem, but for a couple of seconds after we heard the monstrous bang, there was a bit of sweat and a period of high-pitched voices... but we returned safely".

Maj Mouton, with thorough conviction, says "the best bit of luck you could ever hope to have, is to fly this machine in its operational role."

MAJ Gen J.P.B. van Loggerenberg, Chief of Staff Operations of the SADF, tells the tale of how "24 Squadron was formed on paper towards the end of World War II, but was really formed in March 1964 when eight South African air crews, a large number of ground personnel the then Cmdt Rogers, the then Maj Muller, and myself (amongst others) assembled at Lossiemouth."

"After slowly converting onto the Buccaneer S.Mk 50, a few C 130's came to Lossiemouth, loaded up the ground equipment and some of the ground crew on board, and started flying south."

Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg stressed that "the very important thing which the Buccaneer brought to South Africa for the first time was the capability of doing in-flight refuelling. This meant that operationally there wasn't really much of a limitation on this aircraft, because you could take off with less fuel, a full bomb load, and then top up your fuel in the air."

The onus for success in this procedure rests with the pilot of the aircraft being refuelled. "It is not difficult, as a matter of fact it is quite easy, but there is always a hesitancy by any pilot to touch something in the air. Once you have overcome that initial trepidation, it is really neither a difficult, nor a time consuming procedure."

Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg went on to say that "even in this day and age, the Buccaneer is an aircraft with no peer!"

On the issue of navigators, Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg praised these crew members as safety conscious and indispensable.

"We used to say that the navigators really made the Buccaneer a pilot's dream, because you have someone on board to assist you with virtually everything."

Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg recalled "one night, flying from Durban in fairly bad weather, when something remarkable happened. The Buccaneer has a flight-refuelling probe situated on the nose. We had a demonstration of St Elmo's Fire (a discharge of static electricity) that really looked like a big rose, a flaming rose at least two arms-length long, around the tip of this flight-refuelling probe. It was really beautiful."

"The Buccaneer has treated me very well, I've enjoyed flying it," said Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg. "Anybody who can fly a jet aircraft, can fly a Buccaneer. Flying a Buccaneer, I think, is more exhilarating than flying high altitude aircraft, because you're close to the ground and you get the impression of speed that you don't get at high altitudes. Perhaps we are people looking for the excitement of speed," Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg concluded.

CMDT R.I. Roy has spent eleven years all in all with 24 Squadron, and had logged the remarkable record (unequalled in the SAAF) of 1 700 hours on Buccaneers.

Cmdt Roy also expresses the feeling that "everyone knows what a pilot is, he's the guy who flies the aeroplane — but no one knows there's a guy in the back."

He went on to elaborate on the multitude of tasks which this "guy in the back" is required to perform. Inter alia, these include navigation, map reading, weapons selection, bomb time intervals, equipment maintenance, flight planning, fuel regulation, weather avoidance and radio work.

Cmdt Roy remembered a visit in 1975 by the head of Hawker Siddeley (the company which manufactured the Buccaneer) to 24 Squadron. "After his visit he sent a letter to the squadron saying that he'd never seen Buccaneers in such excellent condition, even though they were old — which is certainly a feather in the cap for our ground crew."

He specifically remembered a rocket assisted take-off at night which he described as "spectacular" and air-to-air refuelling at night which struck him as "very scary".

In 1973 Cmdt Roy and Cmdt Schroeder ejected from their aircraft and both survived to again serve as equal members of the same crew on Cmdt Roy's 1 000 sortie in 1981.

Of his ejection experience, Cmdt Roy simply says, "I just injured my back — six months later I was flying again."

Cmdt Roy has flown as low as 50 feet at 550 knots — which he describes as "a great strain, although the stability of the Buccaneer at that level is astounding." The ability of the Buccaneer to fly at this level (although 100-200 feet is more average) enables it to avoid being detected by radar.

"If I get another eleven years to go for it, I would," says Cmdt Roy who, incidentally, also holds the somewhat dubious distinction of being the "first guy to have a beer in a Buccaneer, on my last flight."

On 3 May 1966, the then State President, Mr C.R. Swart, presented 24 Squadron with its colours at AFB Waterkloof. Three years later, in July 1969, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin took "one giant leap for mankind" when they walked on the moon for the first time in history. Back on earth, 24 Squadron was also striving for progress. Four Buccaneers partook in a mock sea-battle for the Naval Review in Cape Town in 1971, and Buccaneers of 24 Squadron also assisted in the sinking of the oil tanker *Wafra*, in the same year.

In the previous year, 1970, the then Cmdt J.F. van Heerden took part in the Tip to Top Race across the country between a Buccaneer, a Mirage and a Canberra.

The Buccaneer, numbered 422, won the event, clocking times of 28½ minutes from Jan Smuts to Durban, 70 minutes and 20 seconds from Durban to Cape Town, and 69 minutes and 20 seconds from Cape Town to AFB Waterkloof.

THE graceful lines and general aesthetic value of the Buccaneer was celebrated at the RSA 10 Show in 1971 at Goodwood Stadium, when 250 National Servicemen formed the shape of a huge Buccaneer in a gymnast display. In that same year, the beautiful Buccaneer posed (along with a model) for fashion shoots in the Sunday Express.

On 20 July 1972, the squadron reached 10 000 flying hours, and in October that year the SAAF held a reunion dinner for wartime members of 24 Squadron.

Also in 1972, at the SAAF Jets Weapons Competition, the then Chief of the Air Force, Lt Gen Verster (who, at one stage, served as Flight Commander of 24 Squadron) presented the then Maj Van Garderen with a trophy for the Best Bombing Crew.

24 Squadron also walked off with a trophy for the Best Ground Crew received by the then Sgt Hoffman, at that same event.

In 1972 the damaged tanker SILVER CASTLE was sunk by Buccaneers of 24 Squadron.

In 1972, Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, the father of the SAAF, died. Three years later, in May 1975, 24 Squadron celebrated its tenth birthday. On that occasion the squadron received a telegram from Rolls Royce Spey, offering congratulations.

In the previous year, December 1974, the then Cmdt Pierre Gouws and the then Maj Henning Els flew continuously for eleven hours, two and a half minutes — proof that the procedure of in-flight refuelling makes it possible for the aircraft to remain airborne within the parameters of crew fatigue.

In 1975, 10 000 civilians gathered at a totally non-racial Open Day at AFB Waterkloof. In May 1980, the squadron had reached 15 years of invaluable Buccaneer service.

The exhilaratingly efficient Buccaneer S.Mk 50 is manned by "an elite squadron of about 100 people," says Cpl Roger Rich. "The squadron is kept together socially, as well as on a work level."

In order to motivate the men and to allow them their deserving recognition, badges are awarded for various achievements on the squadron. Pirate badges are awarded to flight crew members for operational flying, as well as to ground crew members if they are deployed to the Border. Badges for 500, 750, 1 000 and 1 500 hours (the last achieved thus far only by Cmdt Roy) are awarded for flying hours.

For in-flight refuelling, a badge is awarded to a pilot who performs 24 'plugs' or to a navigator who perfects a 'tactical plug'.

THE story of the present-day squadron is a combination of the spirit of the men and the sophisticated brilliance of the machine that make up 24 Squadron.

Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg says, "I suppose we tried to live up to our reputation from the past, but you never actually felt a lot of psychological pressure on you because you were 24 Squadron."

Nonetheless, the achievements of 24 Squadron, the excellency of its Buccaneer, and the competency of its flight and ground crews, have indeed totalled to maintain the vitality of 24 Squadron's illustrious reputation.

Maj Gen Van Loggerenberg says that life on the squadron "does not compete with anything else in the world. I feel very sorry for people who have never flown and who will never really serve on a squadron — it's a fantastic life".

• Mr Justice Cecil Margo is 24 Squadron's Honorary Colonel.

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CSO: 3400/1378

Each man is responsible for the general well-being of his horse. Several of the men noted the deep understanding which is built up between horse and rider. This is one of the main sources of the intense job satisfaction which they derive from working with their horses.

The platoon's farrier is Rfn L.J. du Plooy. Rfn Du Plooy did a five month specialised course, learning the intricacies of equestrian chiropody. An important aspect of his job is the trimming of the hooves. Like a human nail, hooves grow all the time and it's Rfn Du Plooy's full time job to file the horses' hooves and then to fit shoes.

Rfn P. Fitzgerald, the platoon's operation medical orderly, underwent a formal ops medics course in addition to his equestrian training. When out on patrol, he sees to any injuries.

L Cpl J. Vilonel ensures that the horses are fit and healthy at all times. L Cpl Vilonel, the veterinary assistant, treats any wounds, cuts or illnesses. He is qualified to clean wounds, give injections and antibiotics. L Cpl Vilonel also makes sure that the stables are kept in hygienic fashion. The District Veterinarian is on standby during major operations and sorts out any serious problems. Cholic is the most serious sickness routinely encountered, but fortunately, it rarely occurs. Horses tend to injure easily and L Cpl Vilonel certainly has his work cut out.

When out on operations, the horses feed is carried in two saddle bags. Two large cups (a bush hat's worth) of prepared feed, are eaten twice a day. The feed, a fully balanced meal in a cup, contains oats and lucerne. After unsaddling at the end of the day, the horses are allowed to graze by themselves.

Most of the mounted soldiers at 116 Bn grew up on farms. Some learnt about horses at riding schools, "but we all love working with horses and enjoy our job tremendously," said L Cpl H. van Staden.

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SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. UNIVERSITIES INCREASING SCHOLARSHIPS TO BLACK STUDENTS

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 6 Mar 86 p 17

[Article by Alan Dunn]

[Text]

COLLEGES and universities in the United States are increasing scholarships for black South African students as anger at apartheid widens on American campuses.

Some institutions are offering courses while also responding to student pressure to shed all South African investments, others are making the scholarships available instead of divesting.

Eagerness is such that more scholarships are now on offer than the number of students visiting the United States for further studies, according to officials who run programmes placing these students.

The largest of these programmes, the New York-based South African Education Programme (Saep), is set to place 105 students this year. It has already received more than 220 scholarship offers.

About 150 new black students from South Africa will start graduate and undergraduate studies in the United States this September.

About 400 have pursued de-

grees since the first South African student group arrived in 1979. "We were first asked to look at our stock portfolios," said one college head.

"Out of that experience came a realisation that we had a role to play given the

very restricted opportunities for black South Africans in that country."

The director of the Saep, Mr David Smock, said scholarships were limited in some fields, including engineering and law. His office was, however, more able to be selective in matching students with schools.

Pilot projects

"We're in a situation where we're going to be most responsive to the most generous scholarships," he said. "A lot of schools are calling up and asking for their case to be given a fair hearing."

Pilot projects in taking South African clergymen and SWA/Namibian students will also start later this year.

Sharpening interest is a result, educators say, of the mounting attention on South Africa and pressure to respond to students' demands

for action against apartheid.

The director of the United States Agency for International Development's Southern African activities, Mr Michael Feldstein, said: "As South Africa hits the newspapers, as schools are looking for ways to respond positively, this is an easy, ongoing way for them to become involved."

Another programme official felt the motives were a mixture of sincere concern and response to divestment pressures: "They are Looking for alternative ways in which they can be responsive without divesting or only partially divesting," he said.

But some institutions such as the University of California are engaging both policies

Black South African students are reputed to perform well academically in the United States.

"Despite the relatively poor performance of students on standardised tests and despite their uneven academic records, they perform very well in United States colleges and universities," said the author of a study on them.

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CSO: 3400/1354

SOUTH AFRICA

NUM MINERS FEAR WHITE MINERS ARMING THEMSELVES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text]

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has passed a resolution calling on mining houses to clarify their position on the issue of white miners in the Witbank area who have threatened to arm themselves for protection.

Referring to the miners' threats, the NUM said in a statement released yesterday that a resolution was adopted at a weekend meeting of 600 delegates in Witbank, calling on the mining houses to clarify their position within seven days.

Rand Mines is already on record as saying that it recently re-issued a long-standing instruction that no unauthorised firearms might be carried at the workplace.

According to a NUM spokesman, the Witbank region of the NUM has also delivered an ultimatum to mining houses to put pressure on the white Mine Workers Union general secretary, Mr Arrie Paulus, to withdraw certain statements he has made concerning the carrying of firearms.

The NUM said that, should mine managements permit the carrying of firearms, labour relations on the mines were likely to deteriorate.

"Workers are adamant that white racism and 'kragdadigheid' will not be tolerated and demand that managements state their position," the NUM statement said.

The Star reported last week that white miners at Witbank collieries were threatening to carry firearms to protect themselves after weeks of black unrest and labour troubles. Rand Mines Wolwekrans colliery and Anglo-American's Goedehoop collieries have both experienced strikes by black workers in recent weeks.

White mine unions met managements of both mines to discuss members' considerable fears for their safety. Interviews conducted by The Star with white miners in the region revealed that some had been caught in what they believed were life-threatening situations during labour unrest and they wished to carry firearms to protect themselves.

Mr Paulus said at the time that, in the circumstances, he could not blame white miners for wanting to protect themselves. The MWU has also expressed concern about what it considers to be management's "soft attitude" to handling black labour issues.

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CSO: 3400/1354

SOUTH AFRICA

STUDY REVEALS VAST NUMBERS IN SOWETO LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[Text] More than 60 percent of families in White City, Soweto, live below the poverty line, according to a study by Professor Jeremy Keenan, an anthropologist at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Rapidly rising unemployment, combined with inflation and reduced opportunities for informal-sector activity are blamed for pushing families below the poverty line.

Similar research in Moroka found that 48 percent of surveyed families fell below the poverty line at the end of 1985. In Phiri, the figure was 52 percent.

Professor Keenan said unrest had reduced the chances of supplementing income by informal-sector activity.

"With the closure and boycotts of schools many people have been unable to sell food and cold-drinks to children," said Professor Keenan.

"Many shebeens have been destroyed or put out of business. Consumer boycotts and transport difficulties have made it difficult for hawkers to get supplies. The presence of police and troops in the streets has deterred many people from venturing into such activities.

REDUCED CONSUMPTION

"Wages are paid to individuals, but individuals live, reproduce, consume and die as members of social units.

"It is quite possible for wages to rise in real terms, but for overall consumption to decline. Indeed, that is what we have been witnessing in Soweto, and elsewhere, for the past year or so."

He illustrated this saying that in White City wages rose 27,6 percent in real terms between July 1984 and December 1985. However, unemployment had risen, too, increasing the number of dependants in most families.

Professor Keenan has been monitoring the economic fortunes of 50 families in the three townships for between four and seven years and he insisted it was foolish to plan on "one-off" studies, which might reveal temporary features quite contrary to long-term trends.

He rejected "the popular notion presented by the State" that the economic situation of black households was merely the result of a temporary downturn in the economy.

"The economic situation of blacks, in aggregate and as mediated through familial and household structures, has shown little or no sign of improvement since the mid-70s," he said.

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CSO: 3400/1381

SOUTH AFRICA

BULLETINS REVEAL TORTURE COMMON IN TRANSKEI

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 14-20 Mar 86 p 11

[Article by Moira Levy]

[Text]

A SERIES of documents on detention without trial in the Transkei, published anonymously to protect identities, allege that between June and December last year almost 2 000 people were arrested in the territory.

And the authors fear what they have learned to date "is but the tip of an iceberg".

The bulletins claim that in the past six months the Matanzima regime became more repressive than at any other stage of its rule.

"People here are detained for indefinite periods and later released without being brought before a court of law. Others are banished to remote rural areas after long periods of detention without trial.

"In recent months some detainees have appeared in tribal courts where legal representation of the accused is barred — this is nothing less than a curtailment of the legal rights of the accused", particularly as civil magistrates and prosecutors are an accepted part of the proceedings in these courts.

The documents list the names and details of approximately 1 950 detainees, a figure the head of the Transkei Security Police, General LS Kawe, claims is untrue.

"I would be glad if anyone would come down here and accompany me through the prisons to point out the detainees," he says.

And both Kawe and the police public relations officer, Colonel M Jumba, deny the existence of torture

in the Transkei — which, say the authors of the documents, is "common" in Transkei prisons.

"Engcobo police station cells are particularly known for interrogation and torture," one author writes.

"Methods of torture include the following: sjambokking (most common), forced to stand naked holding a chair above the head while whipped and punched, suspended naked from a broomstick positioned between two tables while beaten.

"Beaten with rods wrapped with electric wire — loose ends protruding, ice placed up the nostrils while a heater is held up close, twisting the foot round beyond the point of dislocation.

"One detainee was transferred to Cambridge prison, East London, where he was given electric shocks, hooded with a sack filled with teargas, and pierced several times with a pin."

Reports on prison conditions gained from former detainees concur very closely. Most prisons are filthy and lice-ridden. Some have electricity and running water, but in many others cells have only a bucket toilet, and the only water is provided in mugs or a bucket. "There is seldom sufficient water for washing."

Meals consist of porridge, samp without beans, thin soup and cold black coffee. Sometimes sparse servings of meat, spinach or bread are included. On occasions detainees have found stones and sand in their food.

One detainee alleged he was fed pig food.

On weekends the last meal of the day is served at 11am, and some detainees receive no food at all the entire weekend.

"Medical care is grossly neglected and often refused. Detainees have been handcuffed to their beds while in hospital, discharged against doctors orders or discharged by doctors who have been intimidated."

That charge was also denied by Kawe, who says that "people are seen by a magistrate and if they are ill they are taken to a doctor of their choice. If the doctor prescribes they be taken to hospital, we take them immediately. We have nothing to hide."

However, according to the documents, in one case a detainee who complained of toothache was given toothpaste to fill the decayed tooth. "In other cases detainees are given Disprin tablets and a mixture of Cape Aloe regardless of the nature of the ailment."

The documents include reports from mothers of detainees alleging instances of police harassment. An unnamed mother said her 16-year-old son was taken away naked and when she tried to hand him a pair of trousers the security police threw them back.

The police returned later for his clothes.

Other mothers claimed they had seen their children forced to bend forward and then assaulted with a sjambok.

"She says she was not able to bear the sight."

The authors warn that their records

are "far from complete ... (and) based on the limited number of specific cases we have recorded..... the Registrar strives to be as accurate as possible under the circumstances."

The documents include details of mass arrests. At the end of May about 600 students at Sigoga High School were picked up after they had stoned the school buildings, burnt the matron's house and assaulted the principal.

The students were found guilty of public violence and attempted murder, and were given fines, cuts and, in some cases, prison sentences of six weeks.

During class boycotts in September, 390 students from The Umtata Technical College were arrested *en masse* while assembled on the sports field.

In the same month, about 400 Cala High School students were arrested. A total of 169 were charged with boycotting classes, and the rest were lashed and released.

The documents claim that only 158 students were released in time to appear in court. The remaining 11 were freed only about two weeks later, and they were warned they would be held responsible for any further incidents in Cala.

The mother of one of these students reported that all 11 students had fled Cala in fear.

The small town of Cala has been one of the focal points of detentions, especially following the murder in September last year of rural development worker Batandwa Ndondo in full view of residents as he

pleaded for his life. Days later witnesses to the killings, as well as relatives of Ndondo, were also detained.

At his funeral more than 100 youths, wearing T-shirts with the words "Rest in Peace, Batandwa", were also allegedly detained, although the Transkeian Commissioner of Police said the figure was less than 50.

The documents also identify other areas where there have been security clampdowns.

In the Engcobo district a spate of detentions followed a shooting incident (unspecified) in early August last year.

"Many of those detained were members of the opposition Democratic People's Party (DPP) which is apparently strong there."

There have also been detention swoops through Ezibeleni, near Queenstown, which the authors interpret as a bid to break the consumer boycott.

Western Tembuland, Kaiser Matanzima's home district, has also seen an increase in security police action, seen as a bid to "pacify" the area before his retirement.

In the 10 years since Transkei gained "independence", six have been spent under the rule of martial law. In 1980 Kaiser Matanzima imposed a state of emergency after unrest broke out in schools, colleges and the University of Transkei.

More recently a 10pm-to-dawn curfew has been imposed, and even tourists passing through the area are expected to adhere to it.

SOUTH AFRICA

INKATHA, ANC COMPETE FOR CONTROL OF GREATER NATAL

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR (Review) in English 16 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

INKATHA is locked in a life-and-death struggle with the African National Congress. And both are beginning to achieve direct control over corners of what the Nationalist Government once fondly liked to call "white South Africa".

Inkatha and the ANC are achieving their advances in very different ways.

This week Inkatha took further steps to achieving the so-called KwaNatal option in which it will probably control both KwaZulu and Natal jointly with the Natal Provincial Administration.

Inkatha is achieving this advance through a combination of negotiation, *indaba*, and some muscle flexing.

The ANC "comrades", on the other hand, are in effective control of a number of black dormitory townships on the periphery of towns and cities in "white" South Africa.

Some black townships in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and the

Transvaal are "no go" areas for the police and the authorities at night. By day all the police and army can do is patrol them in Caspurs and Buffels. The "comrades" are said even to administer their own tax system.

This power has been achieved through armed struggle against all symbols of Government authority in the townships.

But at the same time Inkatha's bid for power in KwaNatal is now beginning to take off.

This week a joint delegation representing the KwaZulu and Natal administrations put their proposals for the first stage of the plan to the Government in Cape Town.

This first stage is for a joint executive authority with statutory powers to govern the area.

It is generally accepted that the Government will accept some form of joint administration in

KwaNatal. For already informal co-operation between KwaZulu and Natal exists. And the Government is planning a new form of multiracial provincial government for the whole country. So it is said the KwaNatal plan suits the Government.

But while the Cabinet is still considering the details, Inkatha is going ahead with the second phase of its plan which is far bolder than the first. This is for a joint legislative authority directly elected by the people of KwaZulu and Natal, to make laws for the area.

If Inkatha ever manages to get this second phase off the ground, it will be a significant departure from apartheid. For it could involve blacks, whites, Indians and coloured people voting for a single body.

And given the Zulu majority in Natal, Inkatha's power will inevitably be enhanced even if checks and balances such as minority vetoes are built in.

A wide range of groups has been invited to an *indaba* in Durban on April 3 in an attempt to achieve consensus on the proposed legislature. As expected, the ANC and the United Democratic Front have not accepted. The National Party is considering whether to attend.

In an interview this week, Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo spelt out that the movement was dead serious about the second phase.

It's not a matter of whether KwaNatal should have its own legislative body, he said. It was a matter of how. All the *indaba* would discuss was the nature, structure and function of the legislative authority, Dr Dhlomo said.

"We are not going to suspend Phase Two while the Government considers Phase One," he said.

Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha would not prescribe to the *indaba*. But its own proposals would be along the lines of the Buthezi Commission.

This recommended a form of "consociational democracy" including proportional representation, a minority veto and an independent judiciary.

He stressed that there was no plan to separate KwaNatal from the rest of South Africa. The region was inextricably part of South Africa, he said.

Dr Dhlomo said that for two years there had been informal co-operation between the KwaZulu authorities and the Natal Provincial Council. This had taken place between administration officials and between the executives of the two bodies.

The object of the first phase presented to the Government this week was to formalise this informal arrangement, he said.

"This form of loose co-operation is not really conducive to good and effective administration. We must formalise it," he said.

The proposal for the joint executive authority involves a joint secretariat and staff at all levels.

Mr Radclyffe Cadman, the Administrator of Natal, said a joint administration would save millions. For example it could save between R2 million and R4 million through the joint purchase of pharmaceuticals.

The two administrations have

identified other fields of co-operation. These include road traffic, education, libraries, computers, planning, nature conservation, recreation, roads and job creation.

The joint executive authority would have equal representation from Natal and KwaZulu and the chairmanship would alternate. Decisions would be by consensus. In the event of a disagreement, matters would be referred to the Administrator of Natal and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu jointly.

It has been pointed out that with the abolition of elected provincial councils in the middle of this year, there will be a serious imbalance in KwaNatal.

The KwaZulu component will be an elected body. The Natal provincial component will be a nominated one. This could give further power and authority to KwaZulu and therefore Inkatha which governs KwaZulu.

Inkatha may be operating within the "system", but it is not averse to flexing a little muscle.

For example, this week the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, said that rejection of the KwaNatal plan would confirm the views of those who believe there was no future in a negotiated settlement and that fighting was the only thing left.

If any other party working within the system, like the Progressive Federal Party or the Conservative Party, made a similar veiled threat, they would either be laughed out of court or taken to court.

No one is laughing at Inkatha or prosecuting it.

Inkatha ultimately wants the KwaNatal formula to be applied to the whole of South Africa.

But Inkatha's plans run directly counter to those of the ANC. The ANC warns that the KwaNatal option could become a seriously divisive element in South Africa. Similarly Inkatha condemns the ANC's use of violence.

So both Inkatha and the ANC reject each other's strategies as they strive for advantage.

And the great irony is that this battle between two primarily black groups is taking place in "white South Africa". □

11 April 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

IN-DEPTH LOOK AT BOPHUTHATSWANA POLICE REIGN OF TERROR

Appeal to Homeland's Supreme Court

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 16 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] ON JANUARY 14 this year, 18-year-old Lazarus Mandlazi left his home to go shopping for his mother at OK Bazaars in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana.

Little did he know that this seemingly harmless exercise would turn into a horrific chain of events which would leave him mentally and physically scarred.

Today this Standard 8-pupil at Soshanguve High School near Pretoria has recurring dreams of dead bodies – and a passing car sparks off waves of panic.

Furthermore, he shows severe symptoms of a post traumatic stress syndrome, according to the doctor who recently examined him.

Mandlazi's horror story is just one of a string of allegations against Bop cops, who have been accused of waging war against the people of Ga-Rankuwa.

He was one of the 14 applicants who on March 10 asked the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court for an order restraining the Ga-Rankuwa cops from assaulting people in the area, especially members of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, the Catholic Church, and schoolchildren.

After inspecting the affidavits of alleged police brutalities – accompanied by shocking photographs and medical reports confirming multiple injuries – the Supreme Court granted an interim order forbidding the cops from unlawfully detaining or assaulting anyone.

The application was not contested and a final decision will be heard on May 26.

The urgent application was spearheaded by the Catholic Archbishop of Pretoria, George Francis Daniel, who alleged that members of his church had been victimised for their religion.

But five days before the urgent application was heard in court, three of the applicants – Mawu member Jerry Moropa and youths Edwin Matseka and Lazarus Mandlazi – were re-arrested by Ga-Rankuwa cops.

Attempts by attorney Peter Harris to secure their release – and even to gain access to them – were rebuffed by cops.

Harris then obtained a habeas corpus order from the Supreme Court so that he could have access to his clients.

The order was granted on the grounds that there were strong indications Moropa had been arrested because of his assistance in the court application.

But the cops – in blatant defiance of the court order – refused to comply. This led to Harris applying to the court to have the Law and Order Minister – who happens to be President Lucas Mangope – and the Police Commissioner jailed for contempt.

The order will be heard on May 26.

In the meantime, the Supreme Court instructed Mangope to release Moropa and the other two – but five minutes after their re-

lease, Moropa was re-arrested.

He was released late that night when lawyers were on their way to Mmabatho to obtain a second court order for contempt.

In affidavits presented to the Mmabatho Supreme Court, Archbishop Daniel – whose diocese includes Ga-Rankuwa – alleged that the Ga-Rankuwa police campaign against the community includes:

- Large-scale and arbitrary arrests.
- Brutal and systematic assaults which include whipping with sjamboks, canes and batons, hitting and kicking.
- The raping of two women by cops.

He also said many of the assaults were allegedly carried out at or near the mortuary within the Ga-Rankuwa cop station grounds.

"I am particularly concerned about the arbitrary arrests and incarceration of children and youths and the general pattern of violence directed towards them," he said.

Members of the Catholic Church have also been singled out for "vicious victimisations", he said.

"The police have callously entered upon and damaged church property – despite pleas from responsible members of the church for them not to do so," he said.

Scores of affidavits to testify to this were handed in, he said.

Certain Ga-Rankuwa cops were singled out as the arch attackers – Colonel Molohe, Major Mnokoboyane, "Oupa", Sergeant Tsele, a cop known as Eric, Sergeant George and Mahlangu.

They, Mangope, the Police

Commissioner, the Divisional Police Commissioner and Ga-Rankuwa Police Station's station commander are among the 11 respondents.

Mawu national organiser Bernard Fanaroff has testified to the alleged victimisation of Mawu members – many have been severely assaulted in detention for wearing the union's T-shirts.

He said Mawu member Andrew Molopyane was so badly assaulted at Ga-Rankuwa cop station that he had to be admitted to the intensive care unit at the Florence Nightingale Nursing Home in Johannesburg with kidney failure, as well as for multiple weals on his back, neck, legs, arms and face.

A report on his injuries by one doctor said: "I am quite sure this patient has suffered an episode of acute renal failure due to a combination of extensive muscle damage as a result of the beating he received."

Another applicant – a nun called "Mother Superior" – submitted an affidavit describing in detail an incident during which police "appeared to have lost control of themselves" as they threatened children with sjamboks, guns and batons, and swore at her and other nuns.

She said she also witnessed about eight cops kicking a youth all over his body and then pouring a bucket of water over him.

"I was horrified at this severe assault on a man who was lying on the ground – apparently unconscious or dead," she said.

Another nun – Victoria Dlamini – described how a cop had hit her several times in the face with his fist despite her pleading with him not to do so.

Many affidavits mentioned that police allegedly disobeyed magisterial orders that people who were being held in custody receive medical treatment.

Seven Sjambokked

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 16 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Derrick Luthayi]

[Text] NEW charges have been laid against President Lucas Mangope by seven men who claim they were beaten up in detention - because they "built parks" in the homeland.

Abel Mahamba, Moses Mahlangu, William Mahlangu, Piet Lebelo, Elias Tale, Stephen Kgatiswe and Petrus Ndlovu have instructed attorney Mohamed Bham to start civil proceedings for unlawful arrest, unlawful detention and unlawful assault.

A letter demanding various amounts has been sent to Mangope, Bham said.

The men claimed they were arrested last week by

cops in Motlhe township near Temba and held for four days after being accused of erecting parks.

They said they were severely beaten by cops and then put into a roofless cell full of water.

"We were not given blankets and food. We only had two meals during our detention," they said.

Lebelo said he was arrested at the shopping centre. "Cops started hitting me with sjamboks and claimed I was one of the people who erected parks in the township. My denials fell on deaf ears," he said.

Victims Speak

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 16 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] SOME of the affidavits about the alleged cop brutality presented to the Supreme Court include:

● Lazarus Mandlazi said his mother sent him to OK Bazaars in Ga-Rankuwa on January 14.

The taxi he was travelling in was stopped at a roadblock manned by about six cops, who questioned all the passengers.

Mandlazi was accused of wearing shoes like those worn by Congress of SA Students members and of stoning cops - and arrested.

On the way to Ga-Rankuwa cop station, he was beaten by two cops with batons.

A teargas cannister was thrown into a room at the cop station and he was locked inside for 15 minutes, he said.

He and others were ordered to hop around on their haunches while five cops lashed at them with sjamboks and canes.

"Despite our exhaustion, we were forced to continue hopping.

The beating continued despite our cries for mercy.

"Throughout the beating the Ga-Rankuwa cops shouted insults and told us they had been waiting to get hold of Cosas members," he said.

Mandlazi also alleged he was woken up during the night and told to sing about Mangope.

He was also taken to the mortuary where he had to kiss corpses and was threatened with death if he refused, he said.

● Jan Ntobo Mosia, 18, from the Reitumetse Secondary School in Soshanguve, said he and his fellow classmates were boycotting classes on February 19.

They were talking in the yard at a friend's house when a blue cop van stopped next to the house.

Four cops got out and started firing in their direction.

They tried to run away but were caught and thrown into the van. Three cops jumped in and

hit them while accusing them of being Cosas members.

Mosia was accused of being the "boss" of Cosas.

When they arrived at Mabopane cop station, he said, the cops continued beating them.

One cop beat him on the head with a chain and used a stick to crush his fingers.

He was again accused of being a Cosas member, this time because he was wearing takkies, he said.

Mosia said he was later taken to Ga-Rankuwa cop station where he was assaulted again.

● Philip Kgatle – an unemployed man from Ga-Rankuwa – said cops entered his home on February 19 and asked if he was "Made".

He was then locked into the

back of a jeep with a number of cops and another youth.

"One of the cops began striking me across my face. When I asked him what I did wrong, he said I had hijacked some cars and burnt a house.

"At Ga-Rankuwa cop station, I was ordered to take my clothes off. When I had taken off my shirt, cops told me to lie down.

"While I was on the ground the cops beat me on my back and buttocks.

"When the cops stopped, I was bleeding freely.

"A cop in brown overalls told me to put my shirt on and I was released. I was never charged," he said

Commentary on Chief Mangope

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 16 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Percy Qoboza in Percy's Itch Column]

[Text] THE reign of terror unleashed by Bophuthatswana police is a shocking indictment of a bantustan gone bananas.

Despite all the praise that Chief Lucas Mangope received for giving that homeland a Bill of Rights – which is supposed to guard against the abuse of defenceless people – Bop's authorities have shown they're not averse to using force.

Bop has revealed its iron fist.

I have always known Chief Mangope as an unassuming man who has always shown an amazing posture of humility in public. But his transformation when I saw him on television addressing meetings in Ga-Rankuwa and other places in the homeland left me speechless.

There he was, ranting and raving, promising his audiences thunder and damnation. His scathing attacks on the Catholic and Anglican Church are reminiscent of the "Roomse Gevaar" era.

He sees both churches as havens of what he calls the

"agitators and burners" in the homeland.

He practically threatened that he would wake up every person in Ga-Rankuwa personally and send them searching for the people he claimed were fermenting violence in "his" area. And he even chided them for "folding their arms while their children were going on a rampage" and warned that they should not come "crying" to him when he cracks the whip.

If Bop policemen and the paramilitary needed any assurance at all that they can go on the rampage – as they seem to have been doing lately – they received a public reassurance from Mangope when he praised them for the "great work" they have been doing.

But then, if anybody has done anything to undermine respect for law and order it is Mangope.

Duly directed by his own Supreme Court to release three people he had illegally imprisoned without trial, he refused to obey the in-

struction.

Only when it was clear that he was about to be thrown in jail for contempt of court, did he carry out the instruction.

That, surely, is no way for a head of state to behave. He must at all times behave in a manner that will enrich and uplift the dignity of the court in the land.

I am perfectly aware that your Sunday lunch appetite might be adversely affected by some of the ravaged bodies we show you in this paper.

But it is essential that we provide you with the proof that these things are happening. One would have thought that the sjamboking of human beings in such a manner died during the stone age.

But you would have been wrong. It's happening throughout Bop with sickening regularity.

Unfortunately, like South Africa, Bop will soon find out that whipping people does not in any way smash their resolve to see a just society.

It only increases their level of resistance while bitterness and anger eat up their souls.

Indeed, the unusual action in the Eastern Transvaal this week when Advocate Lawrence Tonkin slammed the South African Police for shooting defenceless children is an indication of how much disquiet the police are causing.

I have a sneaking suspicion that Bop will never be the same again.

/13104

CSO: 3400/1388

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT IN TOWNSHIPS COLLAPSING, RISE OF 'COMRADES' RULE

Difficulty in Coverage

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 16 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text]

COVERING the story of the "Comrades" must be one of the most difficult assignments one can get.

The very people who are behind the news in the townships want nothing to do with the media. The less they see of newspapermen, the better.

Many cars, newspaper vehicles included, invite suspicion and often hostility. And even before the official clampdown on media coverage of "unrest" events, the young people of the townships had long decided they wanted none of it.

Photographers on this and other newspapers learnt the hard way. They were often warned by bands of youths in many townships not to take any pictures because "the 'system' uses those pictures to track us down and arrest us".

A few cameramen actually had their films confiscated and exposed to light by the youngsters.

The sight of reporters' notebooks immediately creates an impenetrable barrier behind which youths and other people sullenly shelter. Often the subjects refuse to talk for the same reasons that they refuse to be photographed.

They will not give their names, or if they do, chances are they are pseudonyms.

And so one must rely on memory and, moving from street to street, from block to block and from township to township, ask exactly the same questions to see if you get the same answers.

This way a fairly accurate picture is built from the constant answers one gets.

The fact that one lives in the townships is helpful and one can balance what you have been told with conversations in taxis, shebeens, trains and buses and so weigh up the probabilities of what is true and what merely rumour.

Law of the Streets

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 16 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text]

A GROWING number of townships throughout the country are becoming "ungovernable" as conventional methods of administration and control collapse under the weight of a creeping "people's revolt".

In many parts of the country black councillors are being forced to flee their posts — and a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed many resignations due to intimidation.

Mr CS Venter said that five councillors had been murdered, 109 attacked and 147 had resigned. In the Transvaal alone at least 33 mayors and councillors had been forced to resign.

Councillors who stay risk being killed — Mr Thamisanqa Kinikini of the Kwa Nobuhle council in Uitenhage refused to follow his colleagues and quit. He was burnt to death with five other members

of his family. On the Reef the homes of many councillors have been bombed, and last week Mr J M Khumalo's Diepmeadow house was attacked for the third time ... a week after he had already resigned as a councillor.

Development boards are finding it increasingly impossible to collect rent money and service levies from communities who simply refuse to pay — the Orange/Vaal Development Board, for example, says it is millions of rands in the red because residents have not paid their dues since the outbreak of unrest in 1984.

The Eastern Transvaal Development Board faces a similar problem following residents' decisions not to pay rent over the past few months.

Many of the money-spinning liquor outlets, owned by development boards, have either been burnt down or are not as heavily patronised as before and many have been put up for sale.

The police have withdrawn their resident black members from many areas, among them Langa and kwaNobuhle in the Eastern Cape, Duduza in the East Rand and Alexandra just outside Johannesburg.

There appears to be a growing and concerted revolt against established law and order and many

people believe their townships, instead of being run from the offices of administration boards and town councils, are being run from the streets by committees of faceless people bent on controlling the townships.

The system of black local authorities, lauded by the Government as a significant shift from its refusal to grant blacks outside the homelands any say in the running of their affairs, has obviously failed in these areas.

In a last-ditch attempt to retain a semblance of order in the Eastern Cape, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, appointed town clerks of white municipalities to administer the affairs of the two most problematic communities in the area.

But the appointments of Cra-dock Town Clerk Mr Johnny Landman to run Linge-hlile township and former Uitenhage Town Clerk Mr Barry Erasmus to administer kwaNobuhle were greeted with scorn by the local black communities.

They said that they saw the appointments as "paternalistic" and "irrelevant" as they did not address the core of the problem.

Linge-hlile's was the first local authority to resign en bloc early last year. Then all kwaNobuhle councillors quit — with the excep-

tion of Mr Thamsanqa Kinikini, the deputy mayor.

But his loyalty earned a particularly horrific reward: he was burnt to death with five members of his family two days after police shot dead at least 20 people going to a funeral of unrest victims on March 21. The circumstances of his death shocked the country.

The authorities are still determined, however, to get the system to work. Mr George Reynolds, acting regional director of Constitutional Development and Planning, has said elections for the councils of kwaNobuhle and Lingehlele are on the cards.

But so far nobody has made himself available as candidate, and it does not look as though anybody will.

The manner in which Mr Kinikini died, and other Eastern Cape councillors, including Mr T Linda, mayor of Port Elizabeth's black townships, were financially ruined when their homes and businesses were destroyed in petrol bomb attacks, serve as grim reminders to anyone tempted to join the system.

The uneasiness about participating in the local authorities is not confined to the Eastern Cape. In the Vaal Triangle, there have been two attempts to fill 11 vacancies, but nobody has come forward to contest the elections.

The small township of Duduz in Nigel was the Reef's first "ungovernable" township. Residents pressurised all councillors to resign and resident policemen were forced out of the area.

And on the West Rand two Kagiso councillors, Mr Samuel Gulekhutle and Mr Mike Mabasa, have abandoned office.

A third, Mr Anthony Zulu, and his three-year-old twins, were admitted to hospital shortly before Christmas with severe burns when their home was attacked with petrol bombs.

Next month elections will be held in Tembisa, Kempton Park, to fill seven vacancies which resulted from six "forced" resignations and one death.

Fewer than half the 45 community councils operating in the Eastern Cape are fulfilling their duties and there are many vacancies. The higher local authorities are either not functioning or have been severely hampered by constant attacks by their antagonists.

The serious outbreak of unrest in Alexandra outside Johannesburg recently forced the members of its local authority to flee the township and two have resigned.

And black policemen there have been evacuated following the burning to death of at least one and the destruction of the properties of several others.

Comrades Identities Unknown

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 16 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Jon Qwelane]

[Text] PEOPLE in Kagiso and Munsieville in Krugersdorp on the West Rand claim that a group of men calling themselves the "Comrades" are governing their townships.

All the claims about the "Comrades" come from people who refuse to identify themselves, but the talk about them is rife wherever you go.

A council administers the townships and, though some members have resigned, it at least functions — which cannot be said of a

number of other townships across the country.

But talk in the townships is that the people who are *actually* maintaining law and order in Kagiso and Munsieville are the "Comrades" — and many residents, young and old alike, freely express gratitude for what they see as their sterling work.

And, people claim, these "Comrades" are helping to clean up crime.

In the two West Rand townships many people have died vio-

lently in the past three months but residents say that, thanks to the "Comrades" none has been caused by thuggery.

Residents say since the "Comrades" effectively "took over" the two townships in December, they have disarmed many knifemen and in that time there have been no murders or similar serious crimes.

The "Comrades" are said to operate by walking into shebeens and other popular places. They ask everyone carrying a weapon to hand it over and if they get no response, they search the people and, on finding weapons, confiscate them.

Normally, say residents, there is never reason for tough action. The "culprits" are then "educated" on how they can and must be useful members of society, admonished on violence against their fellow residents, and allowed to go.

So while these townships are "governable" in that their council still functions, the people who seem to attract the residents' attention more — and, judging from conversations with different people, admiration — are the "Comrades".

According to reports this peculiarity of the townships being "governed" by the "Comrades" is not confined to the West Rand, nor does it involve only disarming would-be murderers. It extends to efficient first aid treatment for injuries such as gunshot wounds.

The phenomenon of the "Comrades" seems to be spreading, having first found root in Langa and kwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, where there have been no resident policemen in the past year.

Just two nights after the March 21 police shootings in which at least 20 people died in Langa, 19 officers and their families were evacuated at short notice and more followed later. The mobs set their deserted homes alight.

In Duduza, Nigel, the houses were not only set alight after their owners were evacuated, but even the walls were flattened.

With no councils to run the day-to-day affairs of the townships and no resident policemen to maintain order, how did the resi-

dents manage to avoid the inevitable lawlessness?

Uitenhage residents have a word for it — the *maqabane*

Maqabane, loosely translated, is Xhosa for "comrades".

Residents cite an example of just how effective they can be:

Just after Easter last year a young woman, apparently in a fit of rage, stabbed to death her boyfriend's younger brother for slapping her face.

Word quickly spread that a murderer was on the loose, and the situation had to be quickly remedied. The woman feared the worst — the "necklace", a car tyre filled with petrol, slung around a person's neck and then set alight.

Rather than risk death this way, she ran the few kilometres separating Langa and Uitenhage to hand herself over to the police.

People's "courts", called "kangaroo courts" by the authorities, do exist in many communities, and the kind of justice meted out is often swift, with the victim having little chance of appealing against the sentence.

But no-one knew of a case where the "Comrades" had handed down the supreme penalty, the necklace.

What seems to be emerging in greater numbers in many townships, particularly those of the Eastern Cape and latterly Alexandra north of Johannesburg, are street committees.

Many activists, once they become known to the police, are regularly detained and subjected to other forms of alleged harassment. Apparently, as a result, some community organisations have decided on the street committees — whose members' names are never made public and are known only to a few — to more or less run the affairs of the townships.

In the event of detentions the remaining members of the committee simply choose one among themselves to fill the vacuum.

In Alexandra the committees are said to function so well that there are even first aid teams to deal with victims of police shootings. The teams have basic knowledge to treat wounds and

keep records of those shot and sent to hospital.

The committees liaise with bereaved families and keep records of everyone killed, missing, injured and detained.

When the police insisted that the Alexandra death toll was 22 the residents put it at 46. They were able to do this, according to residents, on the basis of records kept by the street committees. Every committee member knows how many people live in his particular street, how many are missing, dead, in hospital or in detention.

"Courts" have now been introduced in Alexandra, according to some sources, though this has been difficult to prove.

/13104

CSO: 3400/1381

SOUTH AFRICA

STELLENBOSCH STUDENTS REACH CONCLUSIONS ON BLACK RADICALISM

Cape Town THE WEEKEND ARGUS in English 1 Mar 86 p 16

[Text]

STELLENBOSCH students who have been canvassing black political opinion have concluded that most blacks have been so radically politicised that no short-term reforms or security force action can subdue or suppress them.

They also found bitter animosity between rival groups, especially between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

The group of 10, which included five students who were prevented by the Government from going to Lusaka to meet African National Congress leaders, have produced a secret report that concludes that contact with the ANC is essential if there is to be effective political decision-making and action.

SA tour

The students toured the country, meeting members of the UDF, Inkatha and black and white civic and business leaders.

They say there would have to be a proper understanding of the personalities, policy and strategies of the ANC before a proper evaluation could be made of Inkatha, the UDF, the Government — "and even of ourselves".

They expressed alarm at the intensity and momentum of the "freedom struggle", which they concluded was too strong and

deep-rooted for force to quell violence. They said whites should realise that they can only hope to channel this feeling — they cannot stop it.

Some conclusions reached by the students following their discussions in December last year are:

- The implications of UDF attitudes lie hidden in Lusaka because UDF policies are seated with the ANC.

- Within the black community there is a spontaneous acceptance of non-elected leaders who have proved themselves to be fighters for the cause.

- The continued removal of community leaders through detention has created a leadership vacuum which is increasingly filled by weaker, younger and more radical leaders. The latter usually do not have the ability of their predecessors to control their community.

- Political leaders held in detention for a long time gain an unreal and even mythological image as the saviours of their people, and Mr Nelson Mandela probably has the biggest following.

- A critical phase of transition is approaching: "South Africa is sitting with the last of the recognised pre-apartheid African nationalists such as Tambo, Mandela, Motlana and Tutu, who are still in control.

SOUTH AFRICA

COLUMNIST COMMENTS ON EVENTS DURING RECENT PEC MEETING

Durban POST NATAL in English 5-8 Mar 86 p 10

[Article by Ameen Akhalwaya]

[Text]

I HAVE covered or participated in hundreds of meetings on four continents: little family pow-wows, political meetings, trade union indabas, sports meetings, academic meetings, what have you.

They took place in open societies, in countries at war, in countries under military dictatorships.

But I have not witnessed anything as bizarre as the meeting that took place, in a manner of speaking, in Lenasia last month.

It was called by the Parents' Education Committee (PEC), which was formed in Lenasia in January to discuss the education crisis following the national education consultative conference in Johannesburg in December.

The conference had been organised by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC), and 161 organisations present endorsed various student demands as a

condition for returning to classes.

The PEC, made up of members of various organisations, mainly UDF affiliates, but also one from Azapo, scheduled its first mass meeting in January. That was banned under the emergency regulations, shortly before it was due to start.

About 200 people who milled around outside the hall were tear-gassed.

The PEC called another meeting in Lenasia. That too was banned at a late hour. Again, people who had gathered outside the hall, after being told to disperse, were tear-gassed.

Some were sjambokked.

The PEC then decided to seek a Supreme Court interdict.

In an out-of-court agreement, lawyers for both sides agreed the meeting could go on provided no boycott calls were made, and that the police would be present.

The meeting was ranged for a small hall

alongside the huge Patidar Hall in Lenasia.

The street on which it is located is narrow and poorly lit.

In this eerie atmosphere, police vehicles were conspicuous.

It was like watching one of those anti-Russian or anti-East German movies or films about World War 2 prison camps. The presence of armed plainclothes police and uniformed police in the ill-lit street was scary enough for anyone who came by.

Inside the hall, the scene was even more sinister. About three-quarters of the hall was filled with chairs. At the back, about a dozen plainclothes white policemen sat impassively.

Some carried two-way radios. Guns in holsters were clearly visible. A movie camera was placed in front of them, and the scene in front was being filmed.

A photographer with a stills camera took pictures of the audience.

Would you have attended a meeting in such circumstances?

Despite all the horrifying intimidation, some 500 people turned up.

Of course everyone was nervous, though some tried to make light of it. "If I'd known they were going to make movies, I would have combed my hair," said a member of the audience.

"And I would have put on my make-up," his companion laughed nervously.

At the front table, awaiting their turn to address the audience, sat the Reverend Frank Chikane of the Release Mandela Committee, the Rev Molefe Tsele of the SPCC, Mr Jeets Hargovan of the PEC and the Lenasia Youth League, and Mr Gary Moonsamy, Bluebells soccer star and a member of Azasam.

Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, of Azapo and the PEC, chaired proceedings.

It was, he announced, a very difficult meeting to address because of the presence of "other individuals".

The crowd cheered him, stamped their feet, and chanted for the police to leave.

After observing a minute's silence for those who had lost their lives for the cause of liberation, more drama followed.

Two young people, walked out of the hall, saying they could not see how a meeting could be conducted in the presence of police.

Another member of the audience hit out at the police presence, and said a strong protest should be registered.

Dr Asvat asked the crowd for views. They chanted for the police to leave. Members of the audience said they were intimidated by the police presence. One

woman shouted: "We're afraid we could get a bullet in our back."

Dr Asvat asked for a show of hands, and the majority showed they wanted the police to go.

Again they chanted and shouted and stood. The police were unmoved.

Some yelled: "Give them five minutes to disperse."

Still the police sat impassively. The crowd started pouring out of the hall.

After the meeting, younger activists criticised Dr Asvat for his handling of the meeting, saying he should have called them back to discuss the matter further.

Dr Asvat said the decision was the audience's.

Afterwards, the PEC announced that another meeting would be held this week, (Monday, March 3). It said the audience had made its feelings clear about the police presence, and the next meeting would go on with or without the police presence.

At the time of writing, the meeting had not yet been banned.

There are people, mainly in the white Press establishment, and black apologists for apartheid, who will tell you South Africa isn't a Police State. Authoritarian, yes, but Police State? No.

I wonder. After that PEC meeting, I have my suspicions.

In fact, a few days earlier, police from Soweto swooped on a busy cafe/restaurant in Lenasia, shut its doors, then arrested the customers, about 50 of them, many of whom were having their meals.

The official reason? It was a "cleaning up operation" following a Press report that professional criminals were striking in Lenasia every night.

The police were looking for "suspects". The "suspects" were Africans.

One person was charged with possession of suspected stolen property. The rest were released. Some articles, said the police, were handed in for identification.

Imagine if you were sitting in a restaurant, having a meal. Police barge in, bundle you into a van and take you away, along with everyone else, because you're a "suspect"...

Observers believe swooping on "suspects" is a method that will be used once the horrifying pass laws are scrapped.

And this isn't a Police State?

SOUTH AFRICA

FOUNDATIONS LAID FOR NON-RACIAL PRIVATE SCHOOL

Durban POST NATAL in English 5-8 Mar 86 p 11

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text] THE foundations to a multi-million rand non-racial private school in Tongaat, *Uthongathi*, were firmly laid last week. When complete, the school will accommodate 30 boarders and 30 day pupils.

Disclosing details at a Press conference last week, Mr Bryce Biggs, chairman of the Natal Committee of the New Era Schools Trust (NEST), said the whole project, including equipment, was expected to cost R8.4-million.

He said the school would be non-racial and co-educational.

The first intake of pupils would be in 1987, with 30 boarders and 30 day pupils in Standard 6.

Depending on public response, the school would add a further 60 pupils each year until it reached a maximum of 300 senior school pupils in 1991.

The school, Mr Biggs

said, would prepare pupils for a university entrance pass.

He also disclosed long-term plans to include the building of primary and pre-primary schools.

"We believe children of all races attending school together offers one way of ensuring future co-operation between the various groups in South Africa," he said.

Fees would be R5 500 for boarding pupils and R2 200 a year for day pupils.

Mr Biggs said admission to the school would be based on a test designed by the National Institute of Personnel Research, which identified those pupils capable of matriculating.

The school would also have a swimming pool, two squash courts, four tennis courts, a soccer field, two rugby fields, a cricket field, and a 400-metre athletics track.

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CSO: 3400/1380

SOUTH AFRICA

STUDENTS INCREASINGLY WIELDING POWER IN BONTEHEUVEL

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 7-13 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by Moira Levy]

[Text] BONTEHEUVEL, a working-class area on the Cape Flats, was quiet again this week after two days of fierce conflict — but student leaders say the fighting could flare up again at any time.

This week, at schools that only a few days before had been the scene of fierce police-student clashes, pupils went about their daily business. A single cruising police van was the only reminder of the past two days of conflict.

The flare-up was over as quickly as it started. Angered by the arrest of 41 leaders of the Bonteheuvel Inter-School Committee (Bisco), students took to the streets to show their rage.

A Post Office van was burned out and a meat delivery truck was looted.

And Bisco warns it could happen again at any time.

Student leaders representing the almost 3 000 pupils at the three schools comprising Bisco claim that they could call the students of Bonteheuvel out on the streets whenever the situation calls for pitched battles.

They warn Minister Carter Ebrahim and "his culture club" (the Department of Education and Culture) that "if anything happens to any person in Bonteheuvel, if any individual is detained or harmed by the police, we will take to the streets."

This threat is a real one. The Student Representative Councils of Arcadia, Modderdam and Bonteheuvel Secondary Schools have

been known to call mass meetings of the almost 3 000 pupils in the area, and later dismiss the entire student body when they decide school is over for the day, with or without the permission of their principals or teachers.

"When the SRC's want to speak to the authorities in the Department of Education and Culture we do it through the principals. We use them as our middlemen. To that extent we all work together," the student leaders say, speaking with one strident voice, and refusing to give their names or be identified.

"But other times we have to take things by force. If we ask permission for a meeting, and the department refuses, we do it our way. We call the students together, and we discuss what we have to do with them, and then we dismiss them and they go home. The principals can do nothing. In Bonteheuvel the principals don't know what to do."

Last year, during the height of the unrest, the home of a school principal was petrol-bombed. The students claim other principals are afraid their houses might be attacked next. "There is that level of militancy in Bonteheuvel."

The headmaster of Modderdam High School, T Peterson, said: "If you compare students of the 1970s with those of the 1980s, you will see a considerable difference. Children were more subservient in those days, more ready to accept discipline. Today they are more organised."

"We periodically discuss what they want to do and what we want from them and we try to meet each other half way. But children have changed since the boycotts. We just have to live with these changes," he said.

Bisco's demands are far-reaching: troops and police out of the townships and the immediate lifting of the State of Emergency. The security guards currently employed at schools must go, they say, and SRC's must be allowed.

Bisco also demands an end to "the harassment and victimisation of students and teachers".

The students warn: "If Carter Ebrahim tries any nonsense with our teachers we will support them, even if it means taking the youth to the streets."

An affiliate of the UDF, with strong links with other community organisations in the area, Bisco is organised as a single body uniting students from the three different schools.

The student leaders are actively drawing in younger students, the "second layer" of leadership, preparing them to take over when the matriculants leave school.

Unlike other local student committees, Bisco did not emerge out of last year's education crisis. It has been organising students in Bonteheuvel since July 1984, and over the past 18 months has seen massive changes in the education struggle.

Compared to a year ago, "our schools are totally different. The students are more organised and decisions are taken democratically.

"The ordinary students can now organise themselves. If the entire leadership should be detained, any one of the students could carry on the work of Bisco. And we believe that is the best thing that has happened.

"The police thought that by detaining 41 students they were taking away the entire Bisco leadership. But we showed them that there are always people who can take over our work."

The students were held in the local police cells for two days.

Community support for Bisco grew after the detentions, and more pupils suddenly wanted to join, the students said. "We have the police to thank for that."

●The Department of Education and Culture had no comment.

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SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN SOLVING NAMIBIA DISPUTE EXAMINED

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 6 Mar 86 p 16

[Commentary by Bruce Cameron]

[Text]

THERE are so many forces and counter-forces now at work in the Angolan-SWA/Namibian conflict that to get everyone together and agreeing appears almost impossible.

But the South African Government and some Western governments are hoping that yesterday's announcement by President P W Botha will be the catalyst that could end what are basically two civil wars raging mainly on Angolan soil and what is fast developing into a superpower battle.

The optimum result that South Africa and probably the United States would like to see would be a government of national reconciliation in Angola which would include Unita and the present MPLA government, the withdrawal of Cuban forces, the holding of internationally acceptable elections in SWA/Namibia (with Swapo preferably, but not necessarily, losing out) and the withdrawal of South African troops.

But United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 cannot be implemented until the South African troops go, and they won't go unless the Cubans start withdrawing, and the Cubans won't start withdrawing until something is done about

Unita, and Unita won't disappear as a military force until it is accommodated in the Angolan government.

The permutations for reaching agreement and peace in the region are manifold.

For example the demand for the withdrawal of Cuban troops could be eased. The signs are there that this could happen. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, insisted yesterday that the change in emphasis from the actual "withdrawal" of Cuban troops to "agreement on withdrawal" was nothing new.

But clearly there is less emphasis on an immediate withdrawal of the Cubans. Various estimates put their numbers at anything between 30 000 and 40 000.

There would obviously have to be withdrawal in stages but this could include pull backs to the Northern parts of Angola.

Both Unita and the MPLA need to be convinced that neither can wrest victory and must talk.

According to diplomatic sources the probability of this happen-

ing is not that unlikely, particularly as it is felt that the hardliners in Angola have been losing influence lately.

It is quite clear from recent diplomatic manoeuvring and the rapid reaction from Washington yesterday that a virtual joint initiative has been launched by South Africa with the United States.

There was the visit of US Assistant Secretary of State charged with African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, to South Africa earlier this year with a follow up meeting in Geneva last month.

The issue has already been discussed by US President Ronald Reagan and USSR leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, at their recent summit when it is understood Mr Reagan bluntly told his Soviet counterpart that the Russian presence was illegal.

And the meeting between Dr Crocker and the Russians today will obviously feature the Angolan-Namibian issue at the top of the agenda.

The United States clearly intends to somehow enlist the aid of the Soviets to achieve a

settlement.

Moscow's role is seen as particularly crucial as there has been little doubt that the Cubans are their proxies and over the past years it is estimated that more than R4-billion of military aid has been pumped into Angola by the Russians.

The promise of US aid to Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, was obviously meant as a signal to the Soviets and the Luanda Government to look for some accommodation. Both the US and South Africa stand to gain a tremendous amount from the successful implementation of a settlement based on Resolution 435.

For the US there would be vindication for the embattled policy of constructive engagement apart from the prestige of resolving one of the world's thorniest problems.

For South Africa would come the relief of not having to run a huge military operation at an estimated direct cost of R3-million a day and a substantial indirect cost in the loss

of productive manpower.

It would bring relief to the current economic situation and allow South Africa to spend money on more urgently required social programmes such as housing and education and would reduce the country's growing isolation.

Mr Botha says that it is the Cuban question that is delaying the implementation of the 435 settlement plan.

He points out that in 1984 at talks in the Cape Verde islands, Angola accepted the Cuban linkage but shied off discussing dates or numbers.

The Government has done nothing to stop the current moves in SWA/Namibia for the drawing up of a new constitution under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Victor Heimstra.

The South African Government is unlikely, however, to pay much attention to the feelings of the internal parties and seems likely to seek the most universally acceptable solution to the SWA/Namibian dispute.

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SOUTH AFRICA

WHITE-BLACK INTEGRATION GOES SMOOTHLY IN MAFIKENG

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Mar 86 p 8

[Text]

WHITE-Black integration has gone off smoothly in the once white town of Mafeking — now Mafikeng — and White residents of the town believe their race relationships are better than those in the Republic.

A special survey carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council has revealed that four years of "integration" since Mafeking was incorporated by Bophuthatswana had revealed an overall positive attitude to race relations.

According to the researcher in charge of the project, Mr A D Louw, White owners of fixed property in Mafikeng — people with vested interests in the area — generally believe that race relations have improved

since incorporation.

However, they made it clear in replying to the questioning by the research team, that they placed a high priority on the self-determination guarantees given by the Bophuthatswana Government.

The majority of the respondents said they would leave Mafikeng if the Bophuthatswana Government were to withdraw its guarantees to the Whites in the town or the Whites were compelled to send their children to Black schools.

They said they would also "pull out" if Mafikeng became involved in a large-scale frontier war.

Most Whites also said they would not leave Mafikeng if large numbers of Blacks moved into White residential areas.

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SOUTH AFRICA

DURBAN SOCIAL WORKERS ASSESS COMMUNITY'S JOB CRISIS

Durban POST NATAL in English 12-15 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Kanthan Pillay and Rashida Dhooma]

[Text]

POLITICAL solutions have to be found to the growing problem of unemployment in this country, according to a report compiled by social workers in Durban.

The social workers — from throughout Natal — met at a workshop in Durban to assess how best to address the unemployment situation that is slowly strangling the community.

The report was put together to attempt to help unemployed people become familiar with the magnitude of the problem and the resources available to them.

The social workers said a major cause of the crisis in employment was South Africa's political situation.

"Most local and international political analysts attribute the present economic crisis to the political situation, the political policy, and the state's mismanagement of the country's economy," the social workers said.

"Solutions can no longer be found in the community or welfare schemes alone. Solutions need to address other structural issues."

Another problem was the unequal distribution of resources.

"This country has a long history of discrimination against and deprivation of black communities. As a result, the country's resources have not been distributed equally to meet the housing, health, and welfare needs of all people.

"This is seen in the massive housing shortage, the inadequate monies in the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and pitiful state grants and pensions."

The current recession — the worst since the 1920s — was another factor, and the social workers predicted its damaging effect and impact would increase as the year progressed.

"More people will be unemployed and underemployed and will remain so for a long period. This will diminish the incomes of families

and increasingly disable them from satisfying their basic needs.

"The ability of people to pay rent, purchase food and other essentials, meet insurance premiums and hire purchase and so on, will be affected. Social problems will also increase."

"To reverse this situation the State needs to shift its policies and rearrange its national priorities."

As a result of these factors, South Africa was experiencing a rampant inflation rate and a very high cost of living.

"The cost of essentials such as food and transport are increasing all the time while real value of money is declining rapidly. This lowering of the standard of living is now a problem for all income groups."

The present housing policy, the social workers said, was iniquitous, discriminatory, and against the interests of the majority of the people.

"It is directly responsible for the vast housing shortage, the lack of adequate subsidisation, the exorbitant rents, and the discriminatory practices of local authorities."

South Africa, they said, had sufficient resources to meet and satisfy the basic needs of all its people.

"The policy of apartheid results in the wasteful use of these resources, like the innumerable health and welfare departments that will be administering these services.

"It is also tragic that producers of food still engage in the practice of 'dumping' at a time when this can least be afforded," they said.

Arising out of the discussions at the workshop, the social workers concluded there could be no meaningful solution to the hardship experienced by people without the elimination of the fundamental causes of the problem. They proposed several long and short-term goals.

"The iniquitous political and economic situation has to be transformed into a democratic one. This is the only way to ensure the growth of the economy,

the creation of jobs, the lowering of inflation, and control over the cost of living.

"Notwithstanding this, certain measures must be implemented immediately to provide urgently needed assistance to various communities.

"The objective of these measures would be to ensure that any family experiencing hardship will have sufficient income to meet all essential expenses on the one hand while being exempted from paying some expenses on the other hand."

Measures proposed were:

- Grants and pensions must be increased so families have an income commensurate with their needs;

- The Government must increase its contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Unemployment benefits must be paid immediately upon application and all delays must be avoided. Furthermore these benefits must be paid continuously until such time as the worker has secured employment, provided the person is in fact willing to work should work be available;

- The introduction of family allowance for the

unemployed and underemployed persons which would enable families to meet certain essential expenses such as medical, transport costs, and so on;

- In addition to these monies should be provided to families without adequate income to subsidise payment of rents demanded by the local authorities or private landlords;

- Families in arrears with rents and therefore under threat of eviction must be assisted in either the payment of arrears or the waiving of the arrears by arrangement with local authorities;

- The inhuman and traumatic practice of evictions must be stopped as this has a devastatingly demoralising effect on the family;

- Subsidisation of housing must be increased so housing is provided at a rent or cost that is affordable;

- The criteria to qualify for public assistance must be relaxed in view of the harsh economic conditions and rent must be substantiated;

- No GST must be levied on any food items or books required for educational purposes;

- Basic food must be subsidised to a greater

extent;

- All food price increases must be frozen;

- The fuel price must be reduced;

- Surplus food must not be dumped but re-directed to the people until such time as concept of surplus is reviewed;

- The R4 a day wage offered to persons participating in the Department of Manpower Work programme must be increased to a minimum of R10 a day and workers should enjoy full rights as in normal employment.

"We believe all people are entitled to food, clothing, housing, employment, security, and all other facilities for their well-being.

"The communities we serve are victims of situations beyond their control. The solution to the problems of unemployment no longer lies in the hands of the community or welfare organisations.

"Real and meaningful solutions lie in the political arena. A country as wealthy as ours possessing the means and capacity to more than adequately provide for all its people, but which fails to do so on ideological principles, is neglecting its priorities. The political unrest is one more reminder of this."

SOUTH AFRICA

UDF LEADERS, AFFILIATES EXAMINE FUTURE AFTER EMERGENCY

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 14-20 Mar 86 pp 14, 15

[Article by Anton Harber]

[Text]

RESISTANCE politics will never be the same again.

That is the simple but inescapable conclusion one has to come to when one speaks to leaders of resistance organisations about the effects of the seven-month State of Emergency.

Slowly, but steadily, leaders who were in detention or had gone underground to avoid detention are now re-emerging. The former are recovering slowly from the effects of lengthy incarceration; the latter are shedding their disguises and appearing once again in public places.

Activists of the United Democratic Front, for example, were this week cleaning out their Khotso House headquarters, still in a state of chaos after repeated police raids in the early days of the Emergency.

On the surface they are returning to "normal". Underneath that surface, important changes have taken place.

"Over the seven months of Emergency, we have devised ways and means of operating that enable us to withstand extreme repression," Transvaal general secretary Mohammed Valli, one of the few UDF leaders to escape detention, said in an interview this week.

"We have adapted our organisation and structures — and these methods will stay with us."

"The lifting of the Emergency does open up some new space for us, but only in a few areas. We will take full advantage of this and come out into the open again."

"But we won't go back to the way we were working before the State of Emergency. Next time the state clamps down on us, they'll find it much more difficult to weaken us," he said.

UDF leaders view the lifting of the Emergency as only a temporary lull in repression. Expecting another swoop at any moment, they intend being prepared to deal with it.

"We are not going to be tempted into going back to the way we operated previously," Valli said.

What does this mean in concrete terms? "Not all our work will be as public as it was before," he said.

"We will maintain a public presence — this is very important to us. But people won't necessarily know when our committees meet or even who makes up those committees."

The UDF operation will be further decentralised. Instead of activities being co-ordinated at a national level, local structures will be set up to play this role at a regional level. The central office in Khotso House should — theoretically at least — become much less important than it has been in the past.

Transvaal education officer Raymond Suttner elaborated: "Many people thought that because our SOWETO came to life again this weekend. A few hours after the announcement of the lifting of the State of Emergency, the sombre atmosphere that has for the past seven months hung over the smog-filled city on the fringes of Johannesburg suddenly made way for an almost care-free, carnival-like mood."

Last Friday afternoon, in taxis transporting commuters home after work, the conversation centered around the promulgation of the legislation in the Government Gazette.

The conversations were about meeting at so-and-so's place.

A group of fancy-dressed youngsters heralded

head office was not operating during the Emergency, the UDF was not operating.

"But our whole style of operation had changed. We had to develop a much more disciplined way of operating.

"I wouldn't say we have emerged stronger than we were, but in some ways we are stronger because we have developed an organisation that is better able to cope with repression, which we expect to continue," Suttner said.

Neither he nor Valli would be more explicit about the steps the UDF will take to withstand the return to normality, vigorously thumping old tins, or anything that produced maximum noise.

Not far away at another street corner, a group was doing the "toi-toi" (war dance) to the accompaniment of freedom songs — somewhat hesitatingly, as if they expected to attract the attention of security forces.

For the first time in months there was a queue at the Manzattan nightclub in Moletsane — and at other clubs I am told.

Even the music was not as subdued as it usually was. Waitresses were kept on their toes as patrons streamed into the nightspot to unwind.

On my way to Rowena's in Rockville, there was repression. But Valli quoted what he called an old wisdom: "It is more difficult to fight an enemy you can't see than one you can. This is the problem the state has now created for itself by repressing open organisation."

During the Emergency, UDF executives — both national and regional — met regularly. Detained members were temporarily replaced from the ranks.

"At certain levels, our structures have been weakened. But they haven't succeeded in their aim of destroying us. We have recovered," he said. an unusually large number of smartly-clad people flagging down passing taxis. They were clearly on their way to a party.

At what was my favourite watering hole before the emergency people were sitting on empty beer crates because of the lack of chairs.

One patron related how he always used to get through roadblocks by calling those young men "klein bassie".

He was one of the activists who knew he was on the wanted list and had had to spend as little time as possible at roadblocks lest they discover that he was disguised by a false beard and a shaved-back hairline.

Valli believes the Emergency was intended to cripple opposition organisation and smash the popular uprising that was taking place, regaining the initiative for what he calls "puppet structures".

"On all these counts they have lost out," he said.

Support for the UDF has spread enormously, he said — so much so, that the national leadership cannot keep track of affiliates and supporters around the country.

At the same time, he argues, new structures have developed. He cites the emergence of street committees in the Eastern Cape and in some areas

As more wine flowed the more incredulous some of the experiences at roadblocks became. A change of scene was called for.

Amid blaring horns we travelled more than one kilometre without meeting any armoured police vehicle.

It was getting close to midnight, but who cared? How else does one test one's freedom expect by doing those things that were denied one?

Chanting, colourfully-clad members of the Zionist sect were once again in evidence in a number of townships.

All-night stores and garages were gradually gearing themselves for brisk business in future.

of the Transvaal in recent weeks. "There is no doubt that at the local level, we have structures that are much stronger than before the Emergency," he said.

There are other important changes.

"Previously, the struggle was youth-led. Now the youth are just one constituent in the struggle."

Parents are now engaging in the education crisis. More importantly, workers are now taking a more central position.

Certainly, it is clear that the UDF has developed a far closer relationship with Cosatu, the new

The taxi queues at tiling stations grew longer as the grin on the garage-owner's face grew broader.

At Irene's Place the shebeen was a hive of activity as old friends hugged and kissed us like long-lost relatives.

For the first time in months we were able to spend the night as friends, without having to keep one eye on the glass and the other on the clock on the wall.

As I stumbled home at 4,30am on Saturday morning, I realised that the lifting of the State of Emergency provided a more than welcome relief.

But for many housewives with errant husbands it means the end of supper with the whole family.

union super-federation, than it had with its predecessor, Fosatu.

What are UDF plans in the immediate future? According to Valli, the plan of action includes a continued campaign for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC, a campaign against "bantustan structures, particularly against KwaNdebele independence", a campaign to save the Sharpeville Six (sentenced to death for the murder of a community councillor) and a May Day campaign.

The UDF will also be gearing up for the National Education Crisis Conference at the end of March, which will decide how to deal with the end-of-the-month deadline for changes that would avert a mass school boycott.

So much for the UDF. But what about its affiliates?

A representative of the Transvaal Students Congress (Trasco), formed during the Emergency when its predecessor, Cosas, was banned, was adamant that student organisation was stronger than ever.

This was made possible by the ongoing commitment of students to organisation — even in prison.

This representative, who asked not to be named, told how student leaders had conducted their struggle from prison. Since most of the detainees were in communal cells, the leadership split up into different cells and ran discussion groups daily.

When a newspaper was acquired by the prisoners, it was read aloud in each cell and discussed in groups.

"Committees were set up to discuss matters with the students and make decisions," he said.

Communication between cells took place during washing times, meal times and when prisoners were working in the kitchen.

Communication with the outside world was maintained, among other ways, through those who were kept for the 14-day routine spell in the cells. Before short-term prisoners were released, they were thoroughly informed about the situation and encouraged to promote local student organisation on their release. They were told whom to approach when they were released and what action to take.

The proof that organisation was strengthened, he said, was that Trasco could be formed in the middle of the Emergency, not long after the banning of Cosas.

Leaders in prison encouraged the development of local student organisations. Bodies such as the Alexandra Students Congress and the Garankuwa Students Congress emerged.

Representatives of 35 areas gathered to form Trasco in January. Now it is planning to hold its first Transvaal executive meeting next weekend to formulate a plan of action for the future.

On the agenda is a campaign for the unbanning of Cosas (T-shirts, stickers and pamphlets have already been printed) and a closer relationship with other organisations, especially trade unions.

Another UDF affiliate, the Transvaal Indian Congress, expressed a similar optimism about its post-Emergency strength.

"We cannot deny that the Emergency restricted us and our organisation," an executive member

said. "We were prevented from publically campaigning and organising at a time when the whole tricameral system was falling into disrepute and we could have taken advantage of this.

"We didn't develop new forms of organisation, as others did, but our organisation did carry on functioning. The leadership met continually, activists continued their work and we maintained a high level of discipline.

"We weren't on the offensive, but we were able to defend our base," he said.

Optimistic of an active re-emergence of TIC, he said "intensified resistance" was on the agenda.

Although the Azanian People's Organisation was not as hard hit by detentions as some of the other organisations, there is also an important rethink going on in its ranks.

"We have had to make a very detailed assessment of our previous positions and approaches. Right now there is a lot of intense discussion going on about method," said Saths Cooper, national president.

There were areas where Azapo activists have had to lie low to avoid detention, and others where structures had grown stronger. Some existing branches had become defunct; but other new ones had sprung up, Cooper said.

"In the short term, we are seriously considering the merit of our previous approach to the struggle, and whether we should not adopt a drastic new approach.

"There is a rejection of previous organisation that resulted in public demonstrations and such activity. I don't know what form new action will take, but various options are being considered.

"We are considering the total withdrawal of participation from any sphere of activity that continues the repression and exploitation of ourselves and our people," he said, citing rent, labour and education as areas in which boycotts could be called.

The other positive effect of the Emergency, he said, was that the "true forces of the Left" had realised the need to cooperate and this would in the longer term result in a new alliance of the "real Left".

Whether or not the claims that these organisations have been adapted and strengthened is true will certainly be tested in coming weeks. With deadlines coming up on schools and consumer boycotts, and activists across the board predicting a tumultuous time in the next few months, the claims will be put to the test.

SOUTH AFRICA

COLUMNIST REPORTS ON UWUSA'S CHALLENGES TO EMPLOYERS, WORKERS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Mar 86 p 13

[Text] To many employers, a pro-capitalist, anti-socialist, pro-investment union like the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) may sound, in these times of sanctions and socialism, like manna from heaven.

But it could also mean a new wave of labour turbulence, largely in the Inkatha stronghold of Natal, where competition between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Uwusa could get tough.

Employers, largely caught in the middle, will have to walk a fine line if they are to avoid accusations of giving one or other side special treatment.

For workers, it will be a time of new choices, turbulence and possibly violence, if recent events are anything to go by. However, officially, Uwusa has stated clearly its attitude towards Cosatu is "not confrontational".

It is early days for Uwusa but the formation of this alternative labour movement, assisted by Inkatha muscle and funds, could go down as one of the most important events in recent labour history.

RICHEST

Just how far Uwusa will penetrate outside of Natal remains to be seen but fall-out from its impact in that province is likely to affect labour relations countrywide.

At a well-orchestrated Press conference in a five-star Johannesburg hotel yesterday, Uwusua, one of the richest

"emergent" unions around, spelled out its relationship with Inkatha, as well as its policies, for the first time. (See box).

Ironically, the official launch of Uwusa will take place in Durban on May 1, the date on which socialists worldwide celebrate Labour Day. The new union plans to confront socialism on the day most dear to socialists and on a day which is increasingly being regarded by black South African workers as a workers' day.

The launch will be held at the same venue — the Kings Park Rugby Stadium — as Cosatu's launch on December 1 last year. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been invited by Uwusa to deliver the opening address. All workers have been invited to take the day off to attend.

"Some months ago the central committee of Inkatha appointed a special sub-committee on trade union and labour matters in response to a demand from workers in South Africa to fight political interference in their affairs," said the chairman of that committee, Mr Simon Conco, yesterday.

"Inkatha's role in labour affairs will be catalytic and supportive, based on the important principle that a healthy trade union movement can exist only in a healthy economy.

"In line with this principle Inkatha will fight calls for disinvestment in the interests of the South African worker.

Union's objectives

Aims and objectives of Uwusa include:

- To unite all workers of South Africa regardless of colour, creed or sex in the pursuit of economic justice in the country of their birth.
- To ensure workers have a democratic right to direct their trade union leaders to express attitudes, values and aspirations that workers support.
- To provide essential secretarial and administrative services for all members.

Uwusa principles included commitment to:

- A free and democratic South Africa in which all participate in the formation of the Government.
- A campaign to liberate the free enterprise system from apartheid control to make it a vehicle for the progress of the country's working class.
- Investment by foreign investors to ensure a healthy economy.
- Non-interference in business, union and labour affairs by political organisations or institutions, including Inkatha. Inkatha would move off the Uwusa stage once the union was firmly on its feet.

Uwusa policy standpoints included:

- Commitment to negotiation to solve political issues.
- An attitude towards Cosatu which is not confrontational.
- A commitment to one man one vote as a first option, but a willingness to consider other equivalent options.
- The unconditional release of Nelson Mandela as well as other political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

"Membership of Uwusa is open to all workers, regardless of political affiliation or association."

He emphatically denied suggestions that Uwusa was trying to establish "sweetheart" unions.

"The basic theme of their drive has been to question Cosatu's motives in calling for disinvestment. The Uwusa logic is that without a vibrant and healthy economy there can be no jobs; without jobs there can be no unions; without unions there can be no meaningful, peaceful change in South Africa.

"Uwusa believes it is the primary objective of a trade union movement to address shopfloor issues and also to address a wide range of sociopolitical and economic affairs that either directly or indirectly affect all workers.

"Uwusa will address these matters in South Africa but, unlike Cosatu, will do so through negotiation from a po-

sition of strength in a vibrant economy."

INITIAL REACTION

He attacked Cosatu for using what he referred to as "violence". Asked to elaborate, he said the disinvestment campaign constituted violence as it deprived people of jobs and a means to feed themselves.

Once it had gathered support, Uwusa would then organise labour into industry or factory-based trade unions.

"The initial reaction among workers and various union leaders has been one of overwhelming support and there is every indication several major unions will affiliate to Uwusa after the union is officially launched on May 1."

Mr Conco said that at the unions' request, the names of those prepared to join Uwusa would only be released later. He said he believed many Cosatu members, dissatisfied with the federation's political rhetoric, would join Uwusa, whose potential strength exceeded that of Cosatu.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW UNITED WORKERS UNION TO OPPOSE COSATU

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Erik Larsen]

[Text]

A NEW trade union movement, the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), which is in direct opposition to the congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), will be launched in Durban on May 1.

The formation of the union, which has the full support of Inkatha, was announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

"UWUSA is committed to a totally free and democratic South Africa in which every individual, regardless of colour, creed or sex has full and inalienable rights to participate in the formation of the Government of the country and of full freedom of political expression and to enjoy equality of opportunity in open competition in a

race-free society," said Mr Simon Conco, chairman of the interim organising committee of the new union.

Mr Conco, who is also chairman of the labour sub-committee of Inkatha, said that one of the aims and objectives of UWUSA was to unite all workers of South Africa.

He said the launch rally, which will be held at the Kin's Park Rugby Stadium, will be attended by thousands of workers from Natal, Transvaal and elsewhere. The rally will be addressed by the head of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Conco said several months ago the central committee of Inkatha appointed a special sub-committee on trade union and labour matters in response to workers' demands to fight political interference in their affairs.

"It has been the primary objective of the Inkatha sub-committee to help organise and support trade unions throughout the country so that they can concentrate their efforts, free from political intimidation, on basic labour issues such as wages, employee benefits and improved working conditions. An in depth study of UWUSA's aims and objectives has convinced Inkatha that the union's formation was in the best interests of all workers.

"Inkatha's role in labour affairs will be catalytic and supportive and based on the important principle that a healthy trade union movement can exist only in a healthy economy."

Mr Conco said that membership of UWUSA was open to all workers, regardless of political affiliation or association.

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SOUTH AFRICA

REPORT PROBES VIGILANTE VIOLENCE AGAINST POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 20 Mar 86 p 11

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[Text]

They have emerged in the recent times of political turmoil in small townships, in metropolitan shanty towns and in the remote homelands.

They go by many names — the A-Team, the Phakathis, the Amabutho, the Fathers, the Mbokotho — and they sow bloodshed and chaos even as they preach "law and order".

Their victims end up bruised, bloodied, burnt, bereaved — and some of them dead. In one of the most gruesome cases recorded, the body of National Federation of Workers organiser Mr Toto Dweba was found in Umlazi, near Durban, with hands cut off and head almost severed from the body.

He had been abducted in August by a gang of armed men — a group of an increasingly recognisable breed, known most simply as the "vigilante" or "Mabangalala".

In South Africa the term "vigilante" has taken on a distinct meaning, points out lawyer-researcher Mr Nicholas Haysom of the Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

"It does not mean a concerned citizen intent on preserving the safety of his family and 'decent values'. It is associated with potentially murder-

ous gangs intent on intimidating, injuring or killing anti-apartheid activists," he tells readers at the start of the first published report on the topic.

The book, entitled "Mabangalala: The rise of rightwing vigilantes in South Africa", was released today in Johannesburg. It is being distributed simultaneously in Britain.

After a study of 13 communities, he observes firstly that vigilantes began to emerge in the second half of 1985, when political resistance and the economic crisis had reached unprecedented proportions.

"Secondly, the vigilantes shared a common target group — members or leaders of groups associated with resistance to apartheid or homeland rule.

"Thirdly the vigilantes operated brazenly, apparently believing they enjoyed police support. Indeed in some cases they allegedly did enjoy such support," he says, drawing on court evidence presented in relation to Fort Beaufort and Leandra.

Mr Haysom argues the purpose of vigilantes is to alter the balance of power in areas where the State has a "crisis of control" — as in Leandra and Huhudi, in the Northern Cape, where popular civic organisations had won benefits for resi-

dents and pushed community councils to the sidelines.

Restoring this kind of political control is beyond the security forces, Mr Haysom argues, as they are "limited by potential publicity and hindered by legal restrictions in their ability to perpetrate the deliberate terror and violence needed to combat popular organisations".

Where vigilantes emerge in the townships of "white" South Africa, Mr Haysom says, they tend to target the leaders of popular organisations rather than embark on indiscriminate violence against the people.

"When leaders are systematically assaulted or killed and the police appear unwilling or unable to curb the activities of the vigilantes, it is obvious that no popular organisation can continue to function openly. In such cases it is not only vigilante interests that are served but also those of official agencies that the popular organisation has challenged."

In several cases there were demonstrable and acknowledged links between the community councillors and the vigilantes, the report claims.

In certain homelands, too, it is clear that vigilantes derive

their authority directly from the formal political structures, Mr Haysom says, citing kwaNdebele as an example.

Natal, Mr Haysom contends, represents a curious mix of urban and rural vigilante activity. Vigilante conflict — described as "some of the most savage mob action in South Africa" — has claimed more lives in Natal than in any other area and animosity to the United Democratic Front is marked.

"Most of the incidents have been laid at the door of the Amabutho ('the warriors' — bands of traditionally armed mobs who appear to draw their style and political inspiration from a Zulu chauvinism)."

Referring to sworn statements of victims and to Press reports, Mr Haysom adds: "In many incidents the Amabutho have been linked to persons connected with Inkatha. Inkatha itself has either claimed that the Amabutho have performed a useful social function or that they have been provoked into violence.

"In other cases Inkatha has denied emphatically the mobs have formal links with In-

katha."

Mr Haysom cautions against oversimplification.

"Not all vigilante activity can be simply laid at the door of small groups of community councillors acting with the alleged patronage of the authorities. In some areas vigilante groups have fed off the tensions and divisions within the community."

Highlighting intergenerational conflict, as between the "Fathers" and the "Comrades" in Crossroads and in Ashton in the Western Cape, the report claims vigilantes emerged from the older generation's resentment of the role of the youth, who sometimes neglected to consult their elders in taking political initiatives and who then imposed boycotts and the like.

Ideological differences between UDF and Black Consciousness supporters had also proved exploitable.

Mr Haysom concludes that vigilantes do much more than disorganise or cow anti-apartheid organisations into submission. He argues that they raise the level of brutality in black areas dramatically.

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK SASH SETS UP TASK FORCE TO AID DETAINED CHILDREN

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 21-27 Mar 86 p 6

[Text] THE Black Sash has set up a special task force to document cases in which children's rights under the Children's Act and the Criminal Procedures Act were allegedly abused.

And parents have been urged to pressurise the government into ending the legal abuse of children held by the authorities.

A resolution to this effect, formulated at the end of the Black Sash conference in Durban last weekend, followed papers and discussion on "Children in Crisis" during the State of Emergency.

The position of the many children detained or tried during the Emergency and since its lifting was a major concern of delegates. Members from several centres made very similar claims in this regard.

A common theme was the difficulties of parents in tracing children being held by the authorities.

Commenting on the Sash reports, Natal University senior Law Lecturer Nico Steytler told Weekly Mail that the law did not make adequate provision for the protection of children picked up by police. He suggested that monitoring the implementation of existing safeguards be combined with lobbying for improvements.

Under existing laws children should not be brought to court unless parents are informed. However, police often say they tried to inform parents but could not trace them.

Police are also not obliged to inform parents when they live outside the magisterial district where the child is held.

"This is obviously open to abuse," Steytler said. "In Durban, for example, if an Umlazi child is held on suspicion of shoplifting in the city centre, the parents need not be informed because they live in what is technically a different magisterial district."

Nevertheless if existing rights are not honoured by police, parents could have grounds for having a trial set aside.

He quoted the example of a 1977 trial, known as the Khumbusa case, in which there was an eruption of violence at a school. The hall was turned into a court and all the pupils were tried for public violence. Once 16-year-old pupil applied, successfully, to have the trial set aside.

The Natal judge said the children had not been asked whether they wanted their parents to be present and whether they wanted legal representation — they had not even been told they were entitled to legal representation. This the judge described as "gross irregularity" and squashed the earlier trial.

Steytler believes that the protection of children would be increased if the police had a legal duty to inform parents immediately a child is picked up regardless of where the parents live.

There should be a similar obligation when the case comes to court, and it was also important that parents and child should be informed of their right to legal representation, and the right to legal aid.

It was essential that the law be changed so that it became the duty of a magistrate to tell a child that he or she

could apply for bail or to be released into parental custody. At the moment the onus is on the arrested person to begin such proceedings.

Changes like these would affect many children. According to the Sash resolution on "Children in Crisis", a total of 2 106 children between 8 and 16 were held during the Emergency.

In another resolution the Sash accused the government of deliberately provoking violence and promoting disorder in black townships.

Delegates said they were convinced the government "knowing itself to be vulnerable in the face of organised non-violent opposition, knowing that its power depends on armed might and knowing that its guns are of no avail against a population determined not to co-operate any longer, therefore seeks violent confrontation in a deliberate attempt to crush all opposition."

Members cited the banning order imposed on Henry Fazzie and Mkhusele Jack, whom they said they

knew to be "leaders of organised non-violent campaigns in opposition to apartheid" as evidence of this.

The issue of removals was another major feature of the conference.

A paper by the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) traced a new development, which they called the "hierarchy of options" used by the state to achieve the effect of removing communities.

"The first option (of the state) is physical removal in cases where a community is weak or divided. Should this be resisted there is then the option of redrawing boundaries so as to include the communities within the borders of homelands.

"Lastly the option now exists to hand over the administration of black areas to homeland governments.

"The communities most likely to be affected by this are precisely the strongest and most unified communities who will certainly resist this effort to push them into the homeland through the back door".

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SOUTH AFRICA

COLUMNIST ON SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT TALKS WITH ANC

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 21-27 Mar 86 p 12

[Article by Howard Barrell]

[Text] TALKING to the African National congress (ANC) has become such old hat of late that it is possible to miss the considerable significance of the important realignments taking place in South African politics.

The basis of this realignment was stated in the joint communique issued on Friday last week after two days of talks between the 500 000- strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the ANC, and its ally, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The three, said the communique, shared a "common understanding that the Pretoria regime and the ruling class of South Africa are powerless to provide any real and meaningful solutions to (South Africa's) general crisis".

Mere wishful rhetoric?

Hardly. An ability temporarily to crush resistance and manoeuvre around the peripheral features of apartheid — which hitherto is all the government and its more liberal supporters have shown themselves (even potentially) capable of — constitutes no capacity to solve the crisis.

A less direct, reluctant, though implicit understanding of this very incapacity has lain behind all the open (as well as unpublicised) talks which businessmen, politicians and others from the white ruling group have held with the ANC over the past year.

Hence the groping realignment taking place.

The Cosatu-ANC-Sactu communique asserted forthrightly that "lasting solutions can only emerge from the national liberation movement, headed by the ANC, and the entire democratic forces of our country of which Cosatu is an important and integral part".

Many of the ANC's white talking partners have not yet reached so startling a conclusion. Rather, a good deal of their motivation in talking with the ANC has, understandably, been to secure for themselves some determining role in an uncertain future.

The ANC appears aware that it is now walking a very tricky patch of ground indeed as it moves, on the one hand, to build and consolidate under its aegis an alliance and, on the other, to isolate thoroughly the diehard supporters of apartheid.

The dangers for the ANC are substantial.

Can its intention to restructure the economy survive the highly diffuse alliance which now emerges as a possibility for the future? Will its top leadership in exile become so bogged down in endless talks that they hardly have the time to do their "operational" work directed to what they call the "home front"? And there are other similar questions being asked both inside and outside the outlawed movement.

From recent discussions with ANC sources, it seems the ANC envisages a two-tier alignment around itself,

based on a distinction between "revolutionary forces" and "forces for change".

The "revolutionary forces" it talks of comprise not only itself, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Sactu, but also, it is clear, a large number of other organisations inside the country.

These forces, in its view, constitute the engine of the current revolt against apartheid. And, importantly, it is these "revolutionary forces" who are the custodians of the political and economic objectives of the new, post-apartheid society.

On the other hand, the "forces for change" comprise those people and organisations (mainly white) beginning to overcome the classical South African liberal dilemma: They denounce apartheid but attempt to steer a middle course between that denunciation and direct identification with, or involvement in, mass mobilisation against apartheid.

These "forces for change" must, in the ANC's view, be weaned away from any residual confidence in the current government and state system, and be drawn into as close an alliance as possible with the primary grouping, the "revolutionary forces".

It is in this atmosphere that the ANC found Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's withdrawal from parliamentary politics so hopeful and praiseworthy. Slabbert, in the ANC's view, showed he was probably overcoming the liberal dilemma.

Slabbert's apparent dumping of this dilemma may well also explain why he attracted such vituperation from some liberal commentators.

But Slabbert has yet to show his full hand and to state clearly his political objectives. Is he merely biding his time, to emerge as perhaps the least sullied of white "*interlocuteurs valables*" with the ANC at some stage in the future who might be able to extract serious compromises to political and economic objectives because of his value? Or might he really cross the liberal's Rubicon?

There is a feeling in the ANC that government intelligence officials may now see some advantage in, ironically, keeping up an endless stream of visitors to the ANC parlour in Lusaka. The motivation may be: Keep key ANC officials tied down in endless talks. For this reason, it may well happen that the ANC designates a special secretariat for the purpose of talks.

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SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

NATAL WHITE GROUP TO OPPOSE MERGER--Newcastle--Action White Natal, a newly formed organisation opposed to the amalgamation of KwaZulu and Natal proposed by senior members of provincial council, yesterday claimed its aims were to "work towards the eventual goal of uniting the Rightwing parties." The executive secretary of the organisation, Mr Philip Schutte, said from Newcastle that after a meeting of 40 delegates from "all over Natal," it had been decided to oppose moves by Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC and Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, to amalgamate Natal and KwaZulu.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Mar 86 p 13] /9317

CSO: 3400/1353

SOUTH AFRICA

DE BEERS' INCOME DOUBLES, FIGURES GIVEN

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Roy Bennetts]

[Text] De Beers' earnings virtually doubled for the year to December.

They soared to 180c a share compared with 92c a share in 1984. The final dividend has been lifted by 45% to 40c (27,5c) a share, making the total for the year 55c (40c).

With the inclusion of its share of the retained profits of associates earnings jumped to 288c (179c) a share.

De Beers' total income for the year jumped to R1,86bn (R1,15bn), aided by impressive increases in investment income to R215m (R183m) and the share of retained taxed profits of associates at R386m (R310m).

Outgoings were well contained at R282m (R258m), including the cost of prospecting and research at R109m (R89m), to provide for a pre-tax profit of R1,58bn (R887m).

The higher earnings from diamond sales caused taxation and the State's share of profits to rise to R411m (R169m), to leave taxed profits of R1,17bn (R718m).

The diamond account shows a remarkable recovery to R1,14bn (R565m). This figure was boosted by the continued weakening of the rand in 1985, but in dollar terms the increase still remained impressive at \$524m (\$390m).

Sales by the Central Selling Organisation in 1985 rose by 13% from \$1,6bn (R2,3bn) in 1984, to \$1,8bn (R4bn).

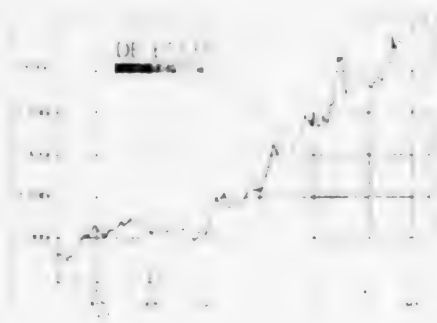
Chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson says that an encouraging trend in the purchase of diamonds seen in the second half of last year has continued at the first two sights--where dealers do their buying--of the current year.

Share of the group's profit attributable to outside shareholders in subsidiaries increased from R73 to R128m, with De Beers' share of extraordinary losses amounting to R63m, compared with a gain of R79m in 1984.

Of the R200m redeemable preference shares in issue by subsidiaries at the end of the previous year, R111m was redeemed during 1985, leaving R89m outstanding.

Long- and medium-term liabilities increased by R99m to R980m while net current assets improved by R202m at R486m.

Fixed assets rose to R843m (R710m), and the book cost of investments and loans to R3bn (R2,6bn). The market value of these investments at the end of the year was R5,9bn (R3,7bn), equivalent to R16,34 (R10,25) a deferred share.



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SOUTH AFRICA

PAPER ANALYZES MAWU WORK STOPPAGE, EMPLOYER RESPONSE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Claire Pickard-Cambridge]

[Text]

MOST employers in the Transvaal metal industry avoided disciplinary action and adopted a policy of "no work, no pay" during SA's first co-ordinated industrial action over the detention of a worker leader on March 5.

This was the finding of the Labour Monitoring Group at Wits University, which monitored a stoppage called by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) to protest the detention of Mawu's Transvaal organising secretary Moses Mayekiso.

In the past, stoppages were called over the deaths in detention of trade union leaders Neil Aggett and Andries Raditsela.

The group saw the latest action as an index of the "growing commitment of organised labour to act over political issues".

The monitoring group found over 58% of Mawu's Transvaal members stopped work at noon on March 5 — some for 30 minutes, others for a whole day. Many other metalworkers who were not Mawu members responded to the call.

In Kempton Park and Johannesburg, metal factories reported an almost 100% stoppage and in Brits 80%. One company gave workers the afternoon off with pay.

Significantly, many employers responded to Mawu's request to them to contact Law and Order Minister Louis L. Grange to call for Mayekiso's release. Mayekiso was released last Friday, along with other state of emergency detainees.

The survey found most metal employers were hostile to the use of industrial action for non-factory ends, but pragmatically recognised the power of organised labour and its involvement in political issues.

The monitoring group isolated two general attitudes among employers to political strikes:

☐ There were those hostile to political strikes, who refused to give workers any time off;

☐ Then there was a small but significant number who were becoming openly sympathetic to political demands of organised labour.

The survey was based on interviews with 130 Transvaal employers. There was a 20% non-response rate. Pretoria, the Vaal and Witbank were excluded and percentages were calculated on the basis of Mawu membership in the regions concerned.

The employers' position of "no work, no pay" during political strikes is fast becoming the norm in most industries.

A recent survey conducted by *Labour Bulletin* found only six of 66 firms affected by a stayaway in Maritzburg last year planned to pay workers who were away. None said they would be taking further action against absentee workers.

Labour consultant Gavin Brown said the policy of "no-work, no pay" and no disciplinary action would probably be adopted by most employers in response to employees who refused to work on May Day.

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SOUTH AFRICA

FIREN MAWU MEMBERS LAUNCH CO-OP PROJECTS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 14-20 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Pippa Green]

[Text]

METAL and Allied Workers Union members, fired nearly a year ago from a British multinational company after a legal strike, have launched a string of co-operatives to sustain themselves and their families in their Natal township.

The co-operatives are the latest initiative in a bitter struggle between the workers and the British Tyre and Rubber subsidiary Sarmcol. The company fired its entire 1 000-strong workforce 11 months ago when the workers went on a legal strike in protest against the company's consistent refusal to deal with their union.

It has cost Mawu, with the help of outside donors, about R20 000 a month to provide the strikers with the most basic food parcels. Although it has applied to the Industrial Court for a *status quo* order to reinstate the workers, no-one is hazarding guesses about when the strike will end.

Sarmcol is the only major employer in the Howick area. About 27 000 people live in Mpophomeni — where most of the strikers come from — and in the surrounding districts.

About 3 500 people have been retrenched from Sarmcol in the past 10 years, aggravating the already high

unemployment rate in the Vulindlela district where Mpophomeni is situated. Sarmcol's answer to demands for union recognition — mass dismissal — meant that an entire community lost its major breadwinners.

The co-operative venture, which Mawu has described as "unprecedented", has projects in various stages of development: a buying co-op, a T-shirt co-op, a cultural co-op, a health committee and an agricultural co-op.

The aim is twofold. On the one hand, the union hopes to be able to foot the monthly food parcel bill within four years. On the other, it is seen as an educative venture, a means of exploring alternative methods of production and social organisation.

"One of the motivations for this project was that people were not just sitting around waiting, but were actively exploring alternatives and looking at different ways of organising production. This is the direction the workers' movement should be going in. Even if we didn't make any money, it would still be worthwhile as an educational undertaking," said a Pietermaritzburg union organiser.

The Sarmcol Workers Co-operative (Sawco) is run by a controlling committee which has representation in the local union branch. The chairman of the Sarmcol shop stewards committee, Phineas Sibiya, is also chairman of Sawco. It has made a conscious attempt to reach out to other members of the community, by including in its structures members of the local youth and womens' groups.

A project already established is the T-shirt project. It employs about 15 people and prints T-shirts for various organisations, among them the newly-formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The agricultural project will start with a donation by the Catholic Church of eight arable hectares and 40ha of grazing land near Cedara.

Sawco is also considering setting up sandal-making, wire meshing, carpentry and even coffin manufacturing projects.

Although the co-operatives will, at most, provide jobs, at less than a living wage for only about 100 of the 1 000 workers, the union argues its value will lie in developing a self-supporting economy in an underdeveloped region

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CSO: 3400/1352

SOUTH AFRICA

SAP COMMERCIAL BRANCH PROBES INCENTIVE FUND

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 13 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text]

THE Commercial Branch of the South African Police has launched a countrywide inquiry into the alleged abuse of decentralisation incentives, possibly involving fraudulent claims for millions of rand.

Charges of fraud against five people, who appeared in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court last week, are said by Commercial Branch (CB) sources to be "just the tip of the iceberg".

The five allegedly made false claims to the Decentralisation Board (DB) for relocation, transport, labour and other costs incurred in moving their businesses to Atlantis on the west coast.

They were not asked to plead. The hearings have been postponed to allow police to complete their investigations.

The dealings of 26 companies that moved to Atlantis are still under investigation, CB sources disclosed. Decentralisation benefits amounting to more than R1m are alleged to be involved and fraud charges are expected to be brought against other individuals.

The Atlantis investigation, which started a few months ago, has been extended to a countrywide inquiry, accord-

ing to CB sources in Pretoria.

This follows spot checks into the dealings of about 150 companies that have applied for, and received, decentralisation benefits, says DB chairman Duggie de Beer.

He told *Business Day* yesterday that the checks had uncovered certain abuses and malpractices which the DB had brought to the attention of the police.

He did not provide further details, saying that the matter was sub judice.

However, De Beer doubted that the number of malpractices and abuses were as high as they were said to be.

He defended the checks and balances laid down by the Auditor-General exercising control over Government expenditure covering decentralisation hand-outs.

He believed the procedures were sufficiently stringent to eliminate any large-scale abuses.

Trade and Industries Minister Dawie de Villiers — who is responsible for the affairs of the DB — was not available for comment yesterday.

Last year, he warned that strong measures would be taken against anyone found to be abusing or attempting to abuse decentralisation concessions.

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CSO: 3400/1352

SOUTH AFRICA

WEAK RAND HELPS BOOST GENCOR EARNINGS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Roy Bennetts]

[Text]

GENCOR's record results for the year to December were again boosted by the weak rand, with the group's export-oriented subsidiaries increasing contributions to the total income.

Earnings a share jumped by 56% to reach a new peak of 481c (308c), based on an attributable income that rose by 66% to R458m (R275,5).

In the light of these results, the final dividend of 140c (135c) a share for a total for the year of 195c (190) will not find favour with some shareholders, but matches market expectation.

The mining side raised its contribution to 75% of the pre-tax profit of R480,9m, compared with 71% of 291,6m in 1984.

However, the commercial and industrial side continued to slide, from a contribution of R26,4m in 1984 to R10,8m — 2,3% of income compared with 9,1% the previous year.

Biggest gains were made by the mineral sector, which includes Samancor and the ferro-alloys companies, with a leap in contributions to R151,2m (R54,1m), nearly a third of total group income. Gencor's financial activities also improved to R107,4m (R58m).

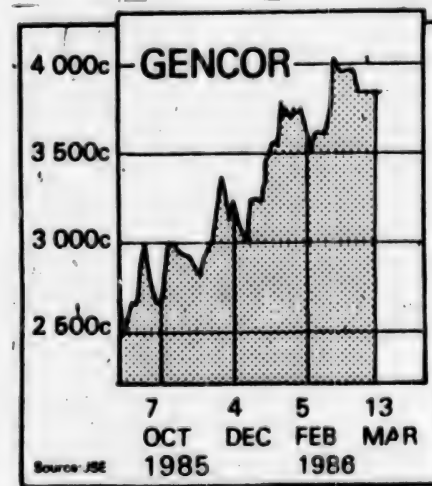
Chairman Ted Pavett said the higher retention of income was advisable in view of current difficulties in raising foreign loans and the high cost of borrowing. It also allowed Gencor to raise further its distribution cover, which rose from 1,5 times in 1984 to 2,2.

Pavett said all foreign loan liabilities had now been covered against exchange rate fluctuations, with the exception of R10,3m (R366m) equivalent to \$3,8m.

The group's interest in the equity-accounted, retained income of associated companies jumped by a spectacular 173% to R102,9m (R37,7m), reflecting excellent performances by Samancor and Trans-Natal.

Total assets increased by 20,7% to R10,5bn (R8,7bn).

Federale Mynbou, which controls Gencor with a 53,7% interest, has declared a final dividend of 123c (122c) to total 170c (169c), placing the share — priced at R34,50 — on a yield of 4,9%, reports ADAM PAYNE. Attributable income after extraordinary items rose 72% to R235,2m (R136,8m). The earnings yield on permanent capital holders' interest was 19,5% (15,5%).



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SOUTH AFRICA

COLUMNIST VIEWS TREND TOWARD PRIVATIZATION

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by David Rees]

[Text]

"Frankly, I'd like to see the government get out of war altogether and leave the whole field to private industry."

JOSEPH HELLER: "Catch 22"

AN EXTREME point of view perhaps, but it cannot be denied that the argument for privatisation is attracting increasing support, both in SA and abroad. In his 1983 Budget speech, then Minister of Finance Owen Horwood raised the matter and government spokesmen continue to dabble with the idea.

If privatisation is indeed a sound idea, then the scope for it in SA is enormous, particularly in view of the size of the public sector. Painting the picture with a broad brush the facts, roughly, are as in CHART A.

In other words, in terms of employment, the state sector is very large relative to the size of the economy as a whole. The proportion of whites on the state payroll may run as high as 40%.

The notion of the public service as a sophisticated social security system for the lethargic or unproductive who trade off the hustle of the private sector for a more modest but secure income in state employment is not entirely borne out by the facts, however. Wages in the public sector compare favourably with the private sector (See CHART B).

Of course, broad averages such as this can be misleading. They tell us nothing about the quality of personnel involved nor anything about their qualifications.

These employment figures would not be particularly disturbing if one could be confident that these wages represented genuine productivity, defined as producing what the consumer wants and at the lowest possible price.

Regrettably, we cannot be confident of either of these objectives. Freed from the discipline of the market we cannot know — and nor can the manager of our public sector industries know either — what the consumer wants, nor whether the operation is efficient.

This is the advantage of the private sector which is often overlooked. If a firm in the private sector fails, it may be because the product is wrong, because the marketing is bad, because the production is inefficient, because the sales force is lazy or because the financial manager has his fingers in the till.

It doesn't matter, however. The signs of failure are unambiguous. The firm goes out of business and its resources are diverted to some more productive use.

Firms fail for reasons about which we may never know, although of course when things are going badly management will usually take steps to identify the cause of the problem.

The public sector, in contrast, offers none of these checks and balances. In the absence of competition even the most dedicated manager will find it difficult to identify what consumers want, and the incentive to discover it is likewise removed.

Just as in the private sector, it is often easier to attract customers by the application of restrictive regulations rather than by attempting to produce more efficiently. For the conscientious manager, the problems posed by the public sector are peculiarly complex.

Equally, large profits as well as losses expose the manager to criticism. The best strategy is, more or less, to break even. Naturally, this attitude does not encourage dynamic management.

However, suppose we concede this point and agree that the public sector is, in general, a model of efficiency. This does not torpedo the case for privatisation. Indeed, it strengthens it.

The attraction of privatisation rests in large measure on the argument that these public sector companies are indeed commercially viable (contrary to popular belief) and are indeed very profitable. Therefore, they can be sold off with advantage to the taxpayer.

What would they be worth if they were sold off? My colleague Professor Brian Kantor has published some rough estimates:

Escom	R8 600m
Iscor	R4 784m
SAA	R1 582m
Post Office	R3 060m
SA Railways	R7 000m

SOURCE: "What price high cash flows?" (Financial Mail, April 22, 1983).

These figures relate to 1983. They would be a good deal higher now, but in the spirit of enquiry let us base our calculations on 1983 valuations.

Selling off these operations would have allowed us to retire about 80% of the national debt immediately, thereby saving more than R2bn annually on interest payments.

This would have allowed us to cut the rate of GST to less than half and maintain this benefit in perpetuity.

Had we done this in 1983, the effect by now would have been even more beneficial, bearing in mind the recent steep increase in interest rates and the corresponding burden to the taxpayer from servicing the national debt.

Nor are these the only benefits. Privatisation would have put these organisations on the same basis as the private sector as far as tax liability is concerned. With this new source of revenue, tax rates on the private sector could have been relaxed further.

As it is, the SA taxpayer is, in principle, the shareholder in these enormous organisations but has yet to receive a dividend.

Such a sell-off of national assets might sound the stuff of fantasy, but it would only, more or less, bring our economy into line with the US, where all these industries, with the exception of the postal department of the Post Office, are in private hands.

It is only to be expected, however, that there will be objections. One of the most common is that raised by Harold Macmillan in the House of Lords to the sale of British Telecomms. You are, he said, selling off the family silver.

A similar response is: how can you invite us to buy shares in these organisations — I thought we owned them already?

The point is, of course, that selling off the family silver makes a lot of sense if you have something better to do with the money. Many taxpayers will feel that this is indeed the case.

The only reason to keep the family silver is a sentimental concern related to veneration of

the past — an understandable preoccupation for someone in Lord Macmillan's position.

Regrettably, the case for privatisation is not so cut-and-dried, however. One difficulty is that, precisely because so many voters are employed in the public sector and because their incomes are not at all unattractive, there is little obvious gain to them from a shift into the chilly waters of competitive markets.

The second difficulty is that the rough valuations of public sector corporations and their attractive price tags from the viewpoint of the taxpayer are based on the functioning of these companies as monopolies, as they are at present.

This can scarcely make privatisation attractive in their present form, for then we would simply be replacing a public sector monopoly with a private one.

However, if we were to sell off these public sector monopolies and at the same time remove their monopoly powers, their market values would be correspondingly reduced.

This would not matter in principle because more efficient firms would take their place, but it does suggest that the process of deregulation is not without its hazards.

All this suggests a few simple guidelines for privatisation.

Firstly, the priority is to privatise peripheral activities, instead of going for the jugular.

There are many alternative forms for dealing with privatisation. Contracting out certain municipal services is an example. There is now considerable evidence that this results in cheaper municipal services.

The fact that the suggestion of privatising the garbage service is met with scorn at City Hall is only a pale foretaste of the difficulty to be expected were the sale of SATS to be put on the agenda.

Secondly, there has to be something in it for the public servants as a means of buying, at the least, their tacit support. Guarantees are necessary because for many public sector employees the public sector offers a form of protection against low wage competition from blacks.

There is no objection to golden handshakes. It is part of the cost of getting from here to there.

Thirdly, it is probably important that when assets are sold off the price be determined very carefully. A bonanza for the shareholders may imply a backlash from the taxpayers.

Fourthly, the areas where privatisation may best be exploited may not be at all obvious. Selling off Escom has definite attractions.

Yet other areas, such as educa-

tion, for example, offer intriguing scope for privatisation. The arguments for privatising education are essentially the same as those employed in any other sector of the economy.

Efficiency is increased, products are more carefully designed to suit the customer and the rewards for efficiency or otherwise are clearly delineated.

Education is one of the major flash-point areas in SA at present. The virtually unanimous call is for the establishment of one education department.

Why blacks should see any virtue in this is inexplicable.

There is only one Post Office, yet this does not prevent the telephone services being more accessible to whites than to blacks. There is only one police force, yet this does not mean whites receiving superior protection to that afforded blacks. Why should a monolithic education department

be different?

The issue of education highlights one further justification for privatisation at least as important as the efficiency arguments customarily used.

Government control inevitably implies politicisation. The result is bus boycotts, school boycotts and continuous conflict. Privatisation may help to dissolve areas of conflict in SA or it might at least enable us to sub-divide them into manageable compartments.

In too many areas in SA — education and housing, for example — we are getting into a "Catch-22" situation. Frankly, a lot of us believe it would be much better for government to get out of many areas of the economy and leave more scope for private industry.

CHART A

EMPLOYMENT ('000) (as at June 1985)

	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	Total
Central government	150	70	17	142	379
Self-governing national states.....	—	—	—	120	120
Provincial administration	130	27	5	96	258
Local authorities	63	29	7	138	237
Electricity	26	4	—	36	66
Transport, posts, telecoms	169	41	10	202	422
Control boards	2	—	—	1	3
Sundry statutory bodies	17	1	—	12	30
i. TOTAL STATE EMPLOYMENT	557	172	39	747	1 515
ii. TOTAL ECONOMY	1 403	588	183	2 767	4 940
State as % of total	39,7	29,3	21,3	27,0	30,7

CHART B

	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	Total
Average monthly income:					
Public sector	1 686	534	869	416	961
Whole economy	1 534	538	748	397	749

SOUTH AFRICA

ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURES, INCOME SHOWN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — Total estimated expenditure for all State departments in 1986-87 is R37 481 million, which represents an increase of R7 619 million over 1985-86.

The official estimates, tabled in Parliament yesterday by Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, show the following votes for 1986-87, with the 1985-86 figures given in brackets (all figures are given in millions of rands):

State President: R11,9 (R11,2).
Parliament: R33,2 (R31,8).
Bureau for Information: R28,8 (R12,8).
Transport: R752,8 (R480,5).
Constitutional Development and Planning: R4 483,8 (R5 898).
Foreign Affairs: R1 318,1 (R1 185,5).
National Education: R122,3 (R107,9).
Police: R1 071,2 (R954,7).
Public Works and Land Affairs: R1 246,3 (R1 067,5).
Development Aid: R2 196,6 (R1 887,9).
Education and Training: R1 157,8 (R920,9).
Defence: R5 123,3 (R4 274,1).
National Health and Population Development: R1 821,1 (R1 338,6).
Manpower: R104,6 (R128,1).
Trade and Industry: R1 045 (R954,1).
Justice: R211,6 (R186,5).
Prisons: R408,2 (R385,8).
Agricultural Economics and Marketing: R421,4 (R579).
Water Affairs: R289,9 (R248).
Mineral and Energy Affairs: R871,5 (R627,6).
Finance: R6 385,1 (R5 471,7).

Audit: R13,3 (R12,0).
Environment Affairs: R187,5 (R145,7).
Home Affairs: R72,4 (R46,2).
Commission for Administration: R153,2 (R72,5).
Central Statistical Services: R11,6 (R36,2).
Central Economic Advisory Services: R1,3 (R1,3).

Administrations (own affairs):

House of Assembly: R4 498,0 (R2 313,8).
House of Representatives: R1 659,7 (R1 331,9).
House of Delegates: R668,5 (R560,2).
Other (including SWA): R34,6 (R22,3).

The estimates of revenue for 1986-87, amounting to R34 464,6 million, are made up as follows (in millions of rands):

Inland Revenue:

Income tax, R20 290,3.
Sales tax, R9 450,0.
Other taxes, R1 039,0.
Mining leases, R680,0.
Interest and dividends, R390,7.
Levies, R50,7.
Recoveries (loans and advances), R50,6.
Departmental, R354,0.
Total inland revenue: R32 305,3.
Customs and excise duties:
Customs duty: R1 300,0.
Surcharge: R970,0.
Excise duty: R1 860,0.
Miscellaneous: R90,0.
Total customs and excise: R4 220,0.
Less various payments: R33 550,0.
Miscellaneous revenue: R34,6.
Grand total of Revenue: R34 464,6 million

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CSO: 3400/1350

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

WATER CONTRACT WITH CISKEY--Johannesburg--South Africa and Ciskei have entered into a R12,5 million water supply agreement, SABC radio news reports. They have agreed in Pretoria to build the proposed Amatola water scheme on South African territory. It will supply additional water to the urban and industrial areas in East London and King William's Town and to the Berlin industrial area, the report said. Parts of the Ciskei which will benefit by the scheme are Mdantsane, Potsdam and Zwelitsha. Work will commence on the first phase of the scheme "soon," the report added.--Sapa [Text] [East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 6 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

GDP RISE--The low level of economic activity since 1981 is reflected in an increase of only 1,1% in the real GDP in the five years to 1985, according to Central Statistical Services (CSS). After decreases of 0,8% and 2,4% in 1982 and 1983 respectively, total real GDP increased by 1985. A drop of 1,5% in the real production of the non-agricultural sector in 1985 was caused mainly by a decrease in domestic demand. The largest decrease in production was recorded by manufacturing (-5,3%), construction (-3,8%), and trade, catering and accommodation services (-4,9%). Mining production, on the other hand, showed a slight increase of 0,5%. Agricultural production declined to a very low level in 1983, but then improved in 1984 and 1985. The increase in 1985 was 14,9%. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 13 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

NATION GAINS IN FOREIGN SKILLS--Although more than 11,700 South Africans left the country last year, there was a net gain in the number of skilled and professional immigrants. This was revealed by statistics released by the Central Statistics Services in Pretoria yesterday. The figures show that 11,729 people left the country in the first 11 months of last year, while 18,559 immigrated to South Africa. There were 2,138 professional, technical and related workers who moved to South Africa in the same period, compared with 1,464 people in the same category who left the country. Figures show that 484 engineers arrived and 420 left the country, 135 medical doctors and dentists arrived while 62 left, 178 educationists arrived while 116 left, and 684 administrative and managerial workers arrived and 429 left. There was only one group of professionals--accountants--where the number of emigrants exceeded the number of arrivals. The figures show that 126 accountants left last year, compared with 114 accountants who immigrated to South Africa. In the same period in 1984, 244 accountants arrived in South Africa while 100 left. The number of immigrants in all the other categories in 1984 exceeded the number leaving. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 14 Mar 86 p 4] /9317

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